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INTRABLOC

Journalist Discusses Hungarian-Romanian Differences

23000105b Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 4 Jul 88 p 10

[Article by Georg Paul Hefty: "Despotism, Pluralism Confront Each Other—Why Hungary and Romania Are at Odds"]

[Text] Budapest, 3 July—Conflicts between socialist states are nothing new. The Hungarian-Romanian dispute, however, centers on an issue which had long since been considered settled by socialism, i.e., the nationality issue. Hungary has mounted political, diplomatic and media campaigns to protest against the discrimination and persecution of the Magyar minority in Romania. For its part, the Bucharest leadership feels that its ambitious plans are being interfered with and views the Budapest government's actions as a provocation.

This is a conflict that was virtually bound to break out. Even the timing is not accidental. Three developments led to the confrontation. First, the steady erosion of the rights of the different nationalities in Romania. Second, the drift of the Romanian leadership into despotism and third, the opposite trend in Hungary which is on its way toward a socialist-pluralistic society.

Neither the first of these three processes, nor the remaining two actually led to the confrontation in and of themselves. For a good 20 years, the Romanian party and government leadership has been engaged in the piecemeal dismantling of the legal structure built after World War II as an expression of the new, communist spirit on behalf of the nationalities which culminated in granting autonomy to the roughly 2 and 1/2 million minority of ethnic Hungarians. The Hungarian leadership stood by in silence. It was headed by Janos Kadar who was born of a Slovak mother in the Croatian city of Fiume (Rijeka). The writer Boldizar calls Kadar the "only internationalist pure and simple." Kadar did not wish to admit to himself that his socialist regime was burdened by the dismemberment of Hungary in exactly the same way as the Horthy regime that he hated so much which had signed the Treaty of Trianon in 1920.

For centuries, Transylvania had been the home of three or four nationalities: Hungarians, Romanians and Germans. The Treaty of Trianon awarded it to Romania and since that time, relations between Hungary and Romania have been poisoned. Hitler's Vienna arbitration edict and the subsequent return of part of Transylvania to Hungary marked the high point of enmity which did not even subside at the end of World War II. Politicians and diplomats of the Hungarian coalition governments between 1945 and 1947 hoped for a time that a solution

advantageous to Hungary would be found. It took a while for [Matyas] Rakosi, the communist party chief, to realize that Stalin was not going to lend any support in the matter.

At any rate, the Romanian communists showed their good will over the years by allowing the Transylvania Magyars to set up their own schools, universities, newspapers and administrations. In those days, Barcs, a deputy to the Hungarian parliament, praised this development. But only last week, this same Barcs noted with grave concern that admission of Magyars to universities in Romania was more restrictive now than that of Jews under the Horthy regime.

The Budapest leadership could afford to remain silent in the face of mounting Romanian violations of bilateral and international agreements to protect human rights and cultural prerogatives as long as the Hungarian public did not raise its voice in protest. But during the past 2 years the protests have been growing steadily louder. This was not the result of a rise in nationalistic sentiments (as the Romanians were no doubt apt to think) but of increased pluralization—or as it is called here—democratization inside Hungary. Once dissidents no longer needed to fear political reprisals, more and more people dared to express views different from the official line. In the end, the opposition became so noisy that the party and the government were forced to take note of it; not only of the indignation over the Transylvania issue but also of the economic, political and social demands. As a consequence, a wide-ranging consensus was reached between the leadership, the opposition and the population on the Transylvania issue.

Simultaneously, the opposite process was under way in Romania. Month after month, the failed economic policies of the self-satisfied party leadership made for greater alienation between the people and its leaders. The latter increasingly began to resort to police state methods and nationalistic diversionary tactics, forbidding the minorities to use thousand-year-old given names and draconically announcing the proposed destruction of 60 percent of all Romanian, Hungarian and German villages.

There is no better way to characterize the divergent developments in Hungary and Romania than to indicate how the demonstration by more than 30,000 Hungarians on 27 June in Budapest was viewed in the two countries. Ceausescu called it "nationalistic" and "chauvinistic" and threatened to break off diplomatic relations. [Matyas] Szuroes, the MSZMP central committee secretary responsible for foreign affairs, on the other hand, termed the demonstration lawful, justified and "not harmful" to the party's Romania policy. The confrontation was noisy. To be sure, the resolutions by the associations of Hungarian and German workers in

Romania did sound like expressions of loyalty to their patrons. The corresponding resolution by the Hungarian parliament was adopted unanimously, with one abstention.

But that just about exhausts Hungary's diplomatic options. The "basic cooperation" offered to Bucharest both by Szurov and the parliamentary resolution is not merely a figure of speech. Since a fair number of countries in Western and Eastern Europe have nationality issues of their own to contend with, there is no assurance that a majority would vote in favor of Hungary's position in any international forum. Premier Grosz and his colleagues know that. There is a Magyar minority living in all of Hungary's neighboring countries—and as far as the Western nations are concerned, Romania might well impress the proverbial man in the street with reminders of the situation in Northern Ireland, the Basque country or Corsica.

For that matter, Hungary cannot really count on the FRG over the long haul. The Bonn program of ransoming the Transylvanian Saxons demonstrates to Hungary that it will soon be facing the basic problem all by itself. The only remaining option is to raise the human rights issue at the low-visibility Vienna conference. In that assemblage, Hungary would only have to express its gratitude to supportive small nations and not to some big power mediator. Still, the conflict will not be resolved until and unless one of the three abovementioned trends ceases to be a factor in the equation.

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BULGARIA

Reactions to BCP Plenum on Intellectual Restructuring

Timeliness of Restructuring
22000036 Sofia *LITURATUREN FRONT* in Bulgarian
5 May 88 p 1

[Article by Andrey Gulyashki; for the Politburo Decisions on Intellectual Restructuring see pp 3-5 of the East Europe DAILY REPORT FBIS-EEU-88-82 of 28 April 1988, and for the Zhivkov Paper on Intellectual Restructuring see pp 1-13 of the East Europe DAILY REPORT FBIS-EEU-88-083 of 29 April 1988]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee will hold a plenum on restructuring in the spiritual sphere. Following the general stipulations of the July plenum on the further development of socialism in our country through the revolutionary restructuring of the methods and style of party and state life, the party is focusing its attention on the intelligentsia. This circumstance has its own important and deep grounds. Prior to convening the plenum, and in accordance with the line of glasnost, the Considerations of Comrade Todor Zhivkov were published in

the press, thus making them available for public discussion. The idea that without the active participation of the intelligentsia no restructuring can be achieved in any given area of social activities runs through their introduction.

No alternative to this concept is possible. Let us consider as an example the state of affairs in the economy, which is the very foundation of everything, and which shapes our life. Practical experience has indicated that in countries in which the scientific and technical revolution was made promptly and skillfully applied in the more important production areas, the level of social labor productivity is high and so is the national income (its distribution is a different matter!), and the market is suitably saturated with goods the quality of which meets world standards. Well, the mastery, application and development of the scientific and technical revolution is the work of that segment of the intelligentsia which deals with the physical and mathematical sciences and engineering technology. Science determines the level of social labor productivity and it is this level which yields a great deal when it is high or leads to a great deal of failures when it is low.

Restructuring has two aspects: creative and organizational. History has assigned to us to witness, study and depict revolutionary changes the final purpose of which is to enrich today's socialism with "more socialism," to improve it in the spirit of Lenin's ideas and to add it to the lasting human social and moral values, such as democracy, glasnost, self-government and personal responsibility. We could add to them high cultural standards, open relations and honesty.

The application of these ideals in literature and the study of their further life require patient observations of life. They require something else, which is perhaps the most difficult to attain: democracy, which is ideal number one, must become an inner conviction, an inseparable part of our spirituality.

I believe that in the case of literature these are the most important things, for they bring to light the nature of the time, the aspect of our reality. They are organically related to the spirit of restructuring.

As to glasnost, which is such an important feature of the restructuring process, it is as yet to discover its target in literature, considering the existence of literary criticism, of interest of the readers in one book or another and the work of publishing houses and periodicals, enhanced via the necessary professional and moral standards.

Talented writers must be provided with a maximum amount of free time for creative work. The choice of books to be published should be much stricter. We must shorten the excessively long road between a book, the publishing house, the printers and the reader. Good books should be given priority in their publication. The

functions and rights of artistic councils must be broadened. The autonomy and financial self-support of publishing houses must be preserved....

Furthermore, a suitable method must be found for strengthening creative and friendly contacts among intellectuals.

Duties of Editors

22000036 Sofia *LITURATURN FRONT* in Bulgarian
12 May 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Petur Andasarov]

[Text] The windows of our life must be opened broadly. More specifically, this applies to life in the creative circles, where we work on a daily basis to fulfill ourselves and thus to carry out most worthily and most professionally our duty. We must acknowledge that we are already out of breath because of stagnant air, the cliches and moldy inertia and meaningless ambitions.

And since we are on the verge of widely opening the windows and clearing the dirty and stagnant air, let us name some of its reasons. In the course of some 20 years of my work as an editor, this work has been blocked by individuals who had nothing in common with the editorial profession. They did not even conceive of the fact that it is related to art and is a high party matter. I have worked side by side with older colleagues, who blocked any new idea or initiative. There were also younger people who accidentally found themselves among us as a result of patronage and who assumed their position with self-confidence. How could we oppose both? They could stick labels on us, for they were the ones who set the rules. Could we undertake to tell the truth about this one or that one! Your personal file would become crowded with negative references. The only solution was to keep quiet and act indifferently and simply carry out one's minimal obligations instead of growing, developing oneself, and becoming more useful by correcting errors and omissions, for who among us is perfect!

The trouble is that in the past and, it turns out, today as well there is such a thing as security. There is nothing more harmful than a guaranteed job and wage. Security is for others who try to do something more and more differently, who make crazy efforts. These people have been assigned or dropped from the sky, finding a secure roof and hide under it. And thus... they wait for their pensions. They mark the time waiting for their pension, although fatigue is crushing them and their eyelids are drooping in slumber. The first two steps toward solving this situation have already been taken, bringing us some joy and hope. The competitions which are taking place are still timid, almost formal and only occasionally real. However, I have faith in their future, for this will be the only principled way for the candidate to have a door opened to him because he deserves it. Stop! What about his "old" colleagues? What about those "already in position?" Slav Khr. Karaslavov is right: Not only the

director of the publishing house but any manager in the spiritual area must be become firmly tied to rights and obligations as a result of his appointment. All editors without exception should operate on a contractual basis and take a contract job for a specific work term. This will prevent the "majority" to influence the fate of those who have been elected, a danger which presently exists. This will apply to those who will be "disciplined" by the managers because of their lack of discipline, those who will be held answerable for working as in the past; all those toward whom the director will be exigent will be regrouped, they will rally and unite and act jointly against him. And, when the next elections come around, this director will not be reelected. Meanwhile, he may happen to be the most capable of them all!

The most important thing is that a contract would make it fully possible to identify the ability of any editorial worker who will try to enrich his knowledge and improve professionally. At that point it would be fairly easy to evaluate his work, for it will be visible. Formal references and other "determining factors" of the wages will become unnecessary. Let us hope that equalization will disappear, for it depersonalizes capable people and offers a convenient shelter for the inept.

Changes in National Culture

22000036 Sofia *NARODNA KULTURA* in Bulgarian
13 May 88 p 3

[Article by Rumen Dimitrov]

[Text] The most profound meaning which could be given to the term "restructuring in the spiritual sphere" is that of changes in the national culture. We have become accustomed to "extraordinary" and "revolutionary" ideas which have remained on paper only. We have also become accustomed to exhibition fairs and inaccessible shop windows. The ordinary culture of the people, however, remains the main test and criterion of the revolutionary nature of any change. What is revolutionary is not simply what is unusual but when the unusual has become usual in the life of every one of us. It is not simply an exhibit which has come and gone but a painting which has not been stored away but has been taken home. It is not simply the victories of our "golden" boys and girls, but having a basketball court nearby. It is not only the national conquest of space but also a satellite television antenna on our roof. It is not only our voice calling for humanizing and ecologizing the environment but also the shouts of children playing in a greenery-covered yard....

I believe that one of the diagnoses describing the current model of our culture has been that of bureaucracy. Naturally, this is a Latin term which does not need translation. The "bureaucrat" is a convenient sacrificial victim. In a state of touching unity, he is criticized "from below" as well as "from above." And this criticism did not start yesterday. In the 1960s the image of the bureaucrat, with his square-shaped mustaches and black

sleeved guards, was like that of the bookkeeper. "Come tomorrow," and so on. This criticism yielded results. Today good bookkeepers are in great demand....

Actually, bureaucratism is a severe illness of society, in the course of which state authorities expand at the expense of the atrophy of the rest. A hidden change takes place: To a certain extent, social life is reduced to the functioning of the state and the functioning itself to managing its apparatus.

The problem is that when the state authority shows an inclination toward self-expansion to the limits of society itself, its efficiency drops quickly. In this case a victory is the equivalent of a defeat. This problem faces the entire society but, particularly severely, our national culture which shows the greatest intolerance of monopoly.

Naturally, there can be no question of separating culture from the state, as we did with the church. However, it is time for a decisive review of the relationship between departmental and civic culture, between state management and social self-management, and between official and unofficial cultural life.

The democratization of the cultural process requires a transition from a single subject to multiple subjects in cultural policy. The only actual subject so far was the state. Based on the cooperative and individual forms of cultural life, this subject should have been competing with other subjects, the more so since they would never have been able to compete on an equal footing. The subjects may compete with the state but cannot be on the same level, precisely because it is the state.

Although the state machinery—the nomenclature—has been steadily expanding, its activities are encompassing the complex phenomena of cultural life increasingly less. Official culture is turning out to be increasingly less able to reflect and influence the daily culture of the people. Whereas the former was still dealing with imposing artistic scales and models in the areas under its jurisdiction, a complex synthesis was taking place in the latter, between art and life. A number of "cultural niches" were set up in which the people organized the way of meeting their needs by themselves.

Occasionally we hear the explanation that official culture is not omnipotent (although its apparatus is everywhere!), for the means at its disposal are limited by the economy. Being a nonproduction sphere, it depends on production. If the economy is stronger culture becomes more influential. This is not always the case! Bureaucratization is inversely proportional to economic potential. This is confirmed by the experience of the developing countries. Wherever a social status does not lead to rapid individual prosperity, the only consolation is to hide under the warm wing of state administration. Paradoxically, it is a fact that it is precisely when the economic

roots of the social tree are the weakest, the most luxuriant becomes the state crown, in which managing culture appears as one of the thickest branches.

Unquestionably, there are those who will object by saying that in our country there is no departmental imposition but a sociostate principle governing the management of culture. Indeed, this is true. But if we look closely at the dominant, if we look at practice, in which all forms of so-called "social supplements" are legitimized through ministerial acts, we are bound to reach the conclusion that the social principle is nothing but the subordinate extension of the state principle. In its current variant the departmental authority expands the authority of the administration over society and not the rights of society in terms of the administration. Such a departmental separation from basic cultural life frequently leads to the fact that instead of solving the problems of culture, the management of culture itself becomes its main problem.

Departmental pressure on cultural life leads to the rule that frequently the creative worker creates when he is paid a regular salary. Social recognition turns out to be closely related to a departmental appointment. For example, not a single member of the Union of Bulgarian Composers is a free-lancer and is not on full salary. The creative worker has stepped on the shoulders of the official but does that double his height?

Part of today's sociological status of the creative worker is to be the "state promoter of culture." This status gives him a certain economic insurance but also makes him socially dependent on superior management. Being on salary, this creative worker does not have to work but nor should he make trouble. In such cases a criterion for success is not only labor but also loyalty. This develops a sharp conflict with his quality as an intellectual, as an opponent operating on the basis of intellect. The career of the creative worker turns out to be difficult without having a career as a departmental official. However, these two careers are very dissimilar. It frequently happens that the most time is allocated to earning the salary rather than following one's vocation. Applied as a hobby, the creative profession turns into a craft. The muses do not wish to be on salary. However, they too are human.

Some creative associations found themselves in their position precisely as a form for the self-insurance of the creative workers under their jurisdiction. It is no accident that losing a job or a leading position in the union is no trifile. In such cases, under the present situation, no possibility exists for the social recognition of the creative worker other than through departmental channels. This must not be underestimated and we must not hastily stick the label of "careerism." Good or bad, the departmental form, which does not tolerate other forms, necessarily replaces social life. To be outside the department means, to a certain extent, to be out of society. At least such is the way things appeared until recently.

Of late, however, we have noted a particular intensification of the conflict between the old organizational form of culture and the new requirements of life. This is manifested in a great variety of areas. For example, some creative associations have begun more fiercely to defend the monopoly status of their members in terms of controlling exposure to the public. It is understandable that improvised art exhibits, independent publications and street art and the market mechanisms are a blow against departmentalism. Why should we allow any competition when in some cases we can simply summon the militia?

Today everyone is dissatisfied with the departmental trend in the creative associations. What are we to do? The idea which appeals the most to the bureaucratic mind would be for such associations to become centralized. From the viewpoint of departmentalism, centralization is the struggle against departmentalism. For example, one could use the material inequality among the individual associations, with its truly uneven allocation of privileges among them, and concentrate their resources in the hands of an authority "above all others." If they cannot be identically equal, let them be identically unequal.

This formula, however will not take into consideration one thing: namely that however much housing, workshops, subsidies, salaries, and other "centralized funds" may be important to the creative person, he remains a person and considers most important the freedom to organize and promote, the possibility of steady self-development and self-advancement.

The democratic variant of a creative association is related to the elimination of the monopoly of association. We should have as many different unions as are necessary. The fact that some creative associations act like trade unions is no problem. Why not, if the need for such exists? The trouble is when we reach the conclusion that there must be "only one art and only one association." The creative associations must be flexible in terms of their number. It is all the same if the creative workers associate on the basis of conflicting artistic platforms, setting up art cooperatives or else become organized in the defense of their economic and creative rights.

This is the variant of going back to oneself, of going back to the public. It means freedom from the petty supervision exercised by those who claim to be better familiar with the interests of the creative worker than he does himself. It is the organizational variant of the self-dynamizing of culture; it is a variant in which mutants and minorities, which are the potential for cultural change, are strictly protected, for what does the term "nonstandard" thinking imply, something which is so necessary in restructuring of the spiritual sphere, unless it is the way of thinking of a minority. If it becomes the thinking of the majority, it is no longer "nonstandard."

It is probable that in the future development of culture the platforms presented by individuals will be of increasing significance: Trends and styles will be influenced increasingly by the character of the creative worker. It will be less a question of works than of creators; the result will matter less than will the process of creativity.

The current laws as well offer virtually total freedom for the social organization of culture. According to current legislation there are no limitations in the number and type of creative organizations. Within any given area of art there may be associations with different objectives. A variety of associations could be set up, pursuing the identical objective, providing that they offer different means to do so. For example, the term "artistic realism" may mean to some a "reflection" and for others the "making" of reality. Eventually those who have founded the first association assume a monopoly. They begin to dictate the conditions under which the other may join. It would be a basic democratic rule for the second, the third, and the other, should they reject these conditions, to set up their own associations. A democratic culture does not seek the monopoly of "primacy."

The separation of the departmental from the civic principles is reflected also in the conflict between the editor and the author. Even when they are one and the same, the interests of the editor frequently clash with those of the author. How frequently an editor could say to an author: "You have good material but it is unpublishable!" And how frequently he may add, speaking more to himself: "What we need today are not daring authors but daring editors!"

Why is this? Why is it that in our situation the editor is almost entirely responsible for the publication, as though the writer is of no importance? The simple answer is that the editor is, above all, a subordinate; the author is, above all, a citizen; the editor is an employee and the author is a personality. The departmental principle, which cannot be directly extended to the authors, controls them indirectly through the editors. In order for the author not to be responsible for his material "subsequently," as a public fact, the editor must be responsible in advance, before it has become public.

The responsibility which is sought of the editor through administrative, private ways cannot be sought from the author in a public manner. The author's public breakthrough hurts departmentalism which relies on its anonymous status. The author could refer to what is officially allowed; the editor is told what is actually permitted. The author cannot be subject to departmental monopoly but the editor can. That is precisely why the line of fire between the administrative-command and the civic-democratic positions in this "fratricidal" struggle runs between the author and the editor. This line could be erased if the law becomes one for both authors and editors.

The question of restructuring in the spiritual sphere is one of seeking a new model of socialist culture, different from the one centralized by the state. Many of the answers remain unknown but many questions can already be asked!

Assessments of Intellectual Restructuring
 22000036 Sofia *RABOTNICHESKO DELO* in
Bulgarian 17 May 88 p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Toncho Trendafilov: "Truth and Talent"]

[Text] Restructuring in the spiritual sphere is only part of the overall process of profound revolutionary changes within our socialist society. At the same time, by virtue of its specific nature, the spiritual sphere should outstrip, mark the way, illuminate and facilitate desired changes in production, distribution and consumption on all levels of the reproduction process.

It seems to me that the central problem raised in the considerations expressed by comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee Politburo "Some Problems and Tasks Related to the Restructuring of the Spiritual Sphere," favors the type of change of circumstances in which science, art and the entire spiritual area will be a motive force for renovation. That is precisely why I would like to express some of my ideas related, above all, to the development of the social sciences.

It has become fashionable to accuse the social sciences of having fallen behind. Such charges are not groundless. However, in order for them to be fair, they should take into consideration the reasons, at which point, with no particular effort, one could see that it is not always or predominately that such reasons rest with the scientists themselves. This truth is perfectly understood by the creative workers who began work in the 1950s, as the first graduates of the higher schools after 9 September 1944, and who defended their candidate dissertations under the strong influence of the "peak" of canonized Marxism—"Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," which had just come out.

It would be hardly necessary today to dramatize matters in this area. The optimistic tone in the document deserves total support. It is the right tone.

When we discuss the assessment of inordinate phenomena, such as the creative potential of man, talent and gift and anything which characterizes the exclusive and, frequently, unique qualities of the creative individual, it is precisely at that point that we need clear and accurate criteria. We must fully realize the harm of applying criteria which are alien to science. Yet it is precisely such criteria that are encouraged by those who "adapt to the circumstances" and those who simulate restructuring.

Society loses and the development of science is threatened when the honest researcher is opposed by a militant mediocrity. He who seeks the truth frequently assumes the tremendous risk of challenging public opinion. A scientific discovery is conflicting by its very nature. It is a refutation of widely approved truths and criteria. That is precisely why the arrows of mistrust are aimed at the discoverer. And since public opinion obeys established criteria and terms, it is very easy to compromise the author of a new idea by making skillful use of the conceptual apparatus of tradition. Let us not forget that none other than Karl Marx noted the paradoxical nature of the new scientific truth, and let us display our attention to and understanding of the creative person who has taken the risk of opposing universally accepted concepts. This requires daring but also a social environment which can assess the risk and display a tolerance which is so greatly necessary in any scientific discussion. No struggle of opinions can exist where suspicion and monopoly of truth prevail.

A monopoly status in science is contraindicated to scientific thinking itself. The scientist is a scientist only if he questions the existing concepts of the world in which he lives. In this sense as well the morality of the scientist is fully opposed to that of the bureaucrat, who makes use of his monopoly status in order to put the thinking of the creative worker within the framework of the abusive orders he issues.

Talent is not a frequent phenomenon. It is precisely talent that must be the special target of scientific policy, for it is also daring and dedicated yet brittle. The bureaucratic element could easily break it.

Bureaucratic thinking which professes the rule that "no one is irreplaceable" is particularly harmful in science. Armed with this kind of morality, bureaucrats have deprived science of many a talent. It is precisely now, in the course of preparations for the forthcoming plenum on restructuring of the spiritual sphere, that the full immorality of such thinking can be brought to light.

The concept of the unification of all generations of scientists, which is accurate unto itself, also must be refined. Mediocrity and conservatism are not the monopoly of the old or the young. A basic separation between those who can and those who cannot, those with vocation and talent for true scientific thinking and those deprived of such qualities runs through all generations of scientific workers. Our strength lies in the integration of the talents and the gifts of all generations of scientists. It is on this integration that we must rely if we are to obtain expected results.

Science does not need compliments but specifically defined conditions. Trust, i.e., the acknowledgment of the right to assume a risk in an honest scientific study and to err, without the creator becoming disgraced, plays a particular role among them.

In addition to dedication, talent and impeccable honesty, working in science has always required a great deal of funds. This is particularly important today. We are pleased to note that today attention is being paid to this aspect of the matter.

The documents highly rate regular meetings between the party and state leadership and the workers in the spiritual area. This is quite proper. However, when it becomes a question of a dialogue between science and the leadership, such meetings are insufficient. We need new, more efficient forms of dialogue, consistent with the nature of science, within which possible solutions can be discussed. We must not forget that there may be only one truth but that the ways leading to it are numerous and that any legitimizing of a single approach is unquestionably harmful.

The forthcoming plenum will probably earmark an entire program for the development of the democratic spirit of science in the direction of self-government. Any worker, with dozens of years of intensive work behind him, knows that a prerequisite for success in such a Sisyphean difficult project lies in the many "Selves:" self-management, self-discipline, self-activity and self-assertion.... Without such significant "selves," even if there is unquestionable talent, there will be no success.

Editorial note: The views and recommendations of Prof Dr Toncho Trendafilov are a continuation of the discussion initiated yesterday among members of the RABOT-NICHESKO DELO Scientific Council. As in any discussion, here as well, the participants are expressing their personal views. We invite our readers as well to take a stand on those questions. The editors reserve the right to express their views at the conclusion of the discussion.

Rumen Raykov, head of mass cultural work, Vasil Druyev Public Library, Dragojevo Village, Preslav Municipality: "Do Not Consider This a Complaint"

The enthusiasm of amateur performers in the village remains pure and selfless and comes from the hearts and souls of the people. It is clear, however, that enthusiasm alone will not make the work advance. What are the reasons? Lack of funds. Do not consider this a complaint but as an objective fact which we must take into consideration.

Television opened our eyes to all human achievements. With increasing frequency I come in contact with amateur collectives and creative workers with high professional successes. I ask myself: Could we not do the same? The administrative and party leaderships in the village also have the best possible feelings concerning aspirations to lead a spiritual life on a higher level. There simply are no funds. Self-management has become reality in our lives and each enterprise and labor collective is pursuing its own financial policy. Each minute and

stotinka are accounted for. That is the way it should be. However, this has drastically affected the work of the public libraries, which so far were being supported by those same enterprises.

The public libraries, which have been centers for the dissemination of culture and education for centuries, have existed for centuries thanks to the gifts of aware and, naturally, richer people. Could it be that, in the final account, workers, who need new machines and social gains, have no need for culture?

This question is related to self-support as well. The only solution I see is to have several amateur collectives which would meet the need for culture in the village. They would give concerts and shows and base their own budgets on them.

I would like to suggest to the state theaters and ensembles, and to actors, painters and other men of art and culture who visit the village, and to all those who bring to us great art: They should not consider the rural public libraries centers of hack work but, guided by selfless principles, help the amateurs and the local creative workers.

Khristo Chakurov, chief director, Ministry of Transport: "When Interests Are Mutual"

I believe that the resolutions to be passed at the forthcoming plenum should lead to the creation of political conditions for a decisive restructuring in the system of training cadres for the national economy. I fully share the considerations expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee Politburo on this matter. It is a question of restructuring not only the organization or shifts in the administrative machinery, which are unquestionably necessary. In my view, conditions must be created for a meaningful restructuring in the management and status of the schools themselves, which are directly involved in training and improving the skills of cadres.

Let me refer to the experience which is being developed in the use of a qualitatively new form of interaction among transportation schools—colleges and transportation SPTU. There are 36 such schools which are training some 5,000 work cadres annually in the main transportation skills. The schools in Burgas, Varna, Plovdiv, Ruse and Kazanluk have undertaken to set up associations for training and upgrading the skills of transportation cadres. They include enterprises interested in this project.

One prerequisite for the organization of such new forms of training is the significant change in the status of transportation schools. They are systematically applying the principle of self-management, combined with an economic approach and democratic forms of work.

What are the new and meaningful features being established with the creation of these new forms of mutual relations? Relations between users of cadres and schools are qualitatively new, free from unnecessary bureaucratism and formalities. This allows the commodity producers to hire a "new type" of personnel. It allows the students to use their potential through their professional skills, based on contract with self-managing economic organizations. This creates conditions for developing economic relations between organizations in the production and spiritual areas.

Call No 44-24-88

We are continuing to accept on a daily basis your questions, opinions and suggestions related to the forthcoming BCP Central Committee Plenums and the considerations expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the reorganization of the spiritual sphere. Dial 44-24-88 and 43-431, extension 487, between 1400 and 2000 hours.

Tsvetan Tsvetanov, Communications Association, suggests that a council of consumers of spiritual values be created. It should consist of representatives of the broadest possible popular strata and professional creative workers. The purpose would be to discuss democratically the artistic and esthetic qualities of works of art and culture and to create conditions for a dialogue of equals between creators and consumers of spiritual goods.

Nataliya Cherneva, teacher, school No 107, in Sofia, believes that it is high time to pay serious attention to the content of textbooks and aids on local geography and studies of the homeland and nature, for the first to the third grades. Experienced primary schoolteachers, psychologists, sociologists and other specialists should participate in their writing and in choosing the facts to be included, for currently there are disparities between the language and the terminology with which such information is presented, on the one hand, and the age group possibilities of the students.

Stefan Boykovski, senior scientific associate second grade and candidate of agricultural sciences, at the Water Buffalo and Horse Breeding Experimental Station in Shumen: The scientific-production complexes proved to be a hindrance to the development of the work of scientific personnel. Their creation increased the number of steps and the bureaucracy. I suggest that they be eliminated as part of the organizational-production structure. The scientific workers need experimental-production centers.

Suggestion by Nikola Kutin, actor, soloist at the national opera in Stara Zagora:

Many people do not understand opera music, for which reason they consider it inaccessible. One of the reasons is that we have not found the true way to the hearts of the

people. We have passionately undertaken to instruct the children in computers but find no time for the language of art. We have no system for exposing the young to opera.

We are forgetting opera educational work. I dream of the creation of a "Friends of the Opera" club in Stara Zagora, which could become the intermediary between the public and the theater and a place for debates and creative meetings.

Writers and Restructuring

22000036 Sofia *LITURATUREN FRONT* in Bulgarian
19 May 88 pp 1, 3

[Article by Nikolay Petev]

[Text] Let us add yet one more definition of what a writer is. So many definitions exist that I would hardly surprise anyone with it and nor is this my purpose. However, if I quote it the reason is not that I am in ecstasy of a newspaper aphorism but it is precisely because the interconnection between "writer and idea" seems to encode our time most successfully.

The considerations expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the restructuring of the spiritual sphere are addressed directly to us as well, the writers, and demand of our creative energy a profound analysis and innovative solutions for the sake of the ideal of communism, for a real moral and political unity unpatched with compromises made once again for the sake of that same idea, honesty and morality, so that it may be bright and clear, so that there might be a clear political approach and be unsullied by dirty hands. It is only through the communist idea and for its sake that restructuring will be new, sacred and possible. It is precisely the party members who must actively and cohesively perform their great role in the eyes of time and society. They must lead.

To me one of the main problems currently set by the party is that of evaluation by the people. We have frequently discussed this problem and have tried to do a great deal about it. However, what we have accomplished is insufficient. We come across a passive attitude in the creative units. Some of our colleagues are even displaying a mocking attitude toward this matter. This indicates nothing other than the fact that they have alienated themselves from the true mission of the writer. It seems to me that through *LITURATUREN FRONT* and the periodicals published by the Bulgarian Writers' Union, we must firmly let the people speak and allow the readers to evaluate our literary efforts. We shall thus not only make our publications more lively but instill a new life in literary criticism, which is increasingly dealing with the structure of the works as compared to their meaning.

The second essential problem is that of our political, our moral behavior. In this connection, I suggest that the leadership of the Writers' Union not be given any

literary awards for the term of its mandate. Naturally, this is a debatable problem. I know very well that this leadership, or any future and past leadership, has included talented people. I know that they write and will write good books. However, I also know that we are expected to set the example and that demands that we deny ourselves not only that which is pleasing but also, in some cases, what is deserved.

I recently read somewhere that "the book is the writer." That may be so, but since debatability is one of the features of restructuring, let me say that this may not be entirely correct. The writer is the book until it is completed; the writer is the book as a symbol. After that, however, I believe that the Bulgarian Writers' Union should help to promote a better printing but not determine the size of editions. That is the last thing we need at a time when we must change our activities. The assessment of a book must not be monopolized by ourselves but be taken over by the people. This would be pleasing but would it contribute to the development of literature and the broadening of democracy?

The Bulgarian Writers' Union, in my view, should seek more opportunities for creative work, such as providing an analysis of important ideological and creative problems, establishing new and efficient ties for obtaining a profound assessment by readers and promoting highly artistic variants in the interpretation of the present while taking a look at the future. These are realistic and necessary requirements concerning our activities. However in order to convert them into actions more easily, perhaps we should recall a sentence expressed by Marx in one of his letters: "Let us talk about politics, for this distracts us from all personal quarrels." I believe that the ideas of restructuring and their profound revolutionary meaning and the firm acceptance by Bulgarian readers of the idea of communism will lead us to the type of changes through which we will be more with the people, with the present and the future.

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Crime Prevention: Role of Education, Glasnost
22000038 Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA
in Bulgarian May 88 pp 13-22

[Article by Georgi Kh. Georgiev: "Prerequisites for a Successful Struggle Against Negative Phenomena," under the rubric "Problems of Socialist Construction"]

[Text] At the 13th congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), it was pointed out that "certain negative phenomena in our life have acquired the character of social distortions."¹

This finding sharpened society's attention towards the traditional problems of defending socialist property and also towards a series of other specific forms of crime such as bribery, theft, hooliganism, etc. What has caused this change in attitude towards the problems of the

struggle against negative phenomena—a change in outlook, or an increase in negative phenomena? Both, I believe; but there's another circumstance—an increase in general demands in the conditions of restructuring in all spheres of our social development.

We know that in the past we spoke publicly, and in the mass media, virtually only about the positive things in our life, only about successes, which undoubtedly existed. To a large extent, a peculiar taboo was imposed on the subject of negative phenomena. An inexplicable trend developed to conceal from society something that everyone knew existed. This gave scope to the most varied rumors, which were often far from reality.

Information about negative phenomena remained locked in the circle in which they were manifested, and the struggle against them was left chiefly to specialized law-enforcing agencies (court of law, prosecuting magistrate, agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs). Contradictions developed. On the one hand, a declaration of principle was made that the whole society must participate in the struggle against negative phenomena, but at the same time this society was not given the information it needed to mobilize. Such an attitude towards negative phenomena created favorable conditions for their development into social distortions.

The principle of glasnost, raised by the 13th congress of the BCP, created an opportunity for open discussion of negative phenomena and of the need to initiate a decisive struggle against them, especially against the causes that engender them.

Legal statistics give us the data on the most serious negative phenomena—crimes. They give cause for concern and anxiety because they are growing in number. In 1986, punished crimes alone grew by 12.1 percent compared with the previous year. These figures do not include hidden crime (particularly in the sphere of economics), which is more extensive than punished crime.

Economic crimes are growing most rapidly. They are not measured in percent but in "times." In 1986, the measure of damage caused by criminal violations was almost three times greater than in 1981. The average damage caused on average by the criminal activity of one individual is impressive: whereas the figure for 1981 was 725 leva, in 1986 it was 1,753 leva. This growth is due to an increase in the number of large-scale violations, generally committed by organized groups. If we fail to take decisive measures against economic crimes, we can expect them to increase still further.

In recent years sharp questions have also been raised about intensifying the struggle against bribery and other manifestations of corruption. Legislative changes have been made with the aim of improving the effectiveness of this struggle. The activities of law-enforcement agencies in the discovery and punishment of these crimes

have been intensified. Central authorities and all agencies have developed their own programs to organize the struggle against corruption. All this has produced some results, but we should look at this as only a beginning.

Certain changes in the structure of crime are also unfavorable, chiefly the growth of serious crimes. For example, the number of murders continues to remain at a comparatively high level for our country. Robbery with violence is also increasing. The number of crimes committed with the participation of several individuals is not inconsiderable (17.5 percent in 1986). The figures are 38.5 percent for robbery, 27.4 percent for theft of public property, 25.3 percent for rape, 24.9 percent for currency crimes, etc.²

In some cases, this participation is growing into the creation of organized groups with an internal structure, distribution of functions, and so on, which commit numerous crimes. It is also disquieting that leading officials and control agencies sometimes belong to such organized criminal groups.

The problem of group crime among minors and young people is becoming more serious. Whereas in the past organized criminal groups of young people were of a more incidental and situational nature, we are now commonly observing long-term organization, with an established structure. Usually the groups have their own "leader" (frequently a previous offender) or leading nucleus, their places for the sale of stolen goods, their internal norms for distribution of "work" and profit, and they use technical resources, etc. Moreover, the groups have become more numerous, and their deeds more intensive, more dangerous.

A new element has developed in the group crime of minors and young people: taking various steps to obliterate traces of the crime—ensuring an alibi and use of precautionary measures that hamper the application of technical methods of discovery.

The increase in the number of robberies committed by organized groups of young people is accompanied by a comparatively new phenomenon—the use of young girls to lure the marked victim. In other cases, the girls and their boy friends steal money and articles from the homes of former "clients" after they have succeeded in stealing a key or furnishing themselves with a duplicate. We should also not underestimate the frequent manifestations of alcoholism and drug addiction among young people.

We cannot and should not reassure ourselves that the increase in crime is a world process and that the rates of growth in Bulgaria are lower than in other countries.

There was a time when we tried to explain away the existence of negative phenomena (above all, crime) in socialist society as merely the presence of anachronisms in the consciousness and way of life of the people. This

prevented us from seeing those causes that are rooted in our society, in our conditions. And if we still continue to speak of anachronisms, they cannot be understood as some sort of social inheritance or transient notion, restricted within the framework of a fixed period of time. As the party program points out, these are "anachronistic customs and habits, created during the thousand-year domination of the exploiting classes and preserved to one degree or another in the consciousness and conduct of the people even after the victory of socialism."³

The struggle against negative phenomena is not easy when one considers their multifaceted nature, the diversity of their causes, the many spheres in which they appear, etc. We need full mobilization under the political leadership of the party for a successful struggle with these phenomena that are foreign to the essence of our society.

Of course, turning our attention towards the disquieting growth of negative phenomena, it would not be right to exaggerate their place in our life. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out, "we should not permit such generalizations of our socialist reality and the essence of our system under the pretext of the struggle with negative phenomena and weaknesses. This would negate the country's enormous progress, the enormous gains of the workers and their personal growth as individuals."⁴

The state and society dispose of adequate forces and opportunities to wage a successful struggle with negative phenomena, including crime. Of course, this is not a one-time skirmish or a temporary campaign but a continuous process that demands multidirectional persistent actions and clear sight, as well as appropriate administrative action to embrace the struggle with negative phenomena and point it in the right direction.

The concept of "negative phenomena" is very broad in content—from the minor offence that deserves the reproach of acquaintances to the serious crime. There are two basic criteria here—the law and socialist ethics.

The sphere in which they are manifested are also varied: in relations between people, in the working collective, in family relations and every day life, in government, in individual professional spheres, etc. This diversity does not permit a comprehensive count of negative phenomena, nor even of the spheres in which they are encountered. We are limited to certain classifications, among which the fundamental classification is one of phenomena that represent violations of the law (crimes and other violations of the law), and phenomena that represent violations of socialist ethics. But even this classification is to a certain extent relative, since a violation of the law is usually also a violation of ethics, and vice-versa—many violations of socialist ethics are simultaneously violations of the law.

The relative share of crime is not the largest, but it is the most serious share of negative phenomena, and this demands that special attention be paid to it. The gravity of the crime is determined above all by the damages—material and moral—that it inflicts on society and on individual citizens. For this reason, the spearhead of the struggle against negative phenomena is directed first and foremost against crime.

On the other hand, juxtaposed against the general mass of negative phenomena, which is quite amorphous, crime has a comparatively organized structure, its qualitative and quantitative indices. This is a favorable prerequisite for investigation and for directed social reaction.

As a social phenomenon, crime is influenced by the direct and indirect effects of a series of social factors—economic, political, cultural, and moral.

The struggle against negative phenomena (first and foremost against crime) is an activity that can and must be organized and steered. Indeed, objective prerequisites in socialist society to limit their spread favor the directed efforts of the party, the state and public organization. However, we need a integrated action with diverse resources to control the struggle against negative phenomena. Management must be based on a scientific foundation, which means: discovering the logistics of their development; clarifying the causes and discovering opportunities and resources to influence, neutralize and eliminate them; conducting realistic policies based on strict accounts of objective possibilities and correlation of socialist forces; analyzing the work of the institutes waging battle against negative phenomena, and recommending scientifically founded measures to improve this activity and increase its effectiveness.⁵

Marxist social science is foreign to idealistic agnosticism, to ideas that it is impossible to discover the causes that lead to negative phenomena. It is also foreign to the pessimism that dominates bourgeois criminology. Marxist criminology accepts that, since crime is a recognizable phenomenon that can be elucidated in many ways, then the struggle with it is as a rule a manageable process. This is not merely a theoretic concept but a practice that, to one degree or another, is followed in socialist society. Of course, we do not mean "decreeing" the development of crime, or setting time limits for its elimination. That would be unfounded voluntarism and nonsense. Managing the struggle with negative phenomena begins with creating laws and rests on preservation of socialist legality.

To be effective, the struggle against negative phenomena must be waged on a wide front. Here we need not only the activities of the specialized law-enforcement agencies but also other state, state-public, and public agencies, as well as the entire complex of measures and actions that have a direct or indirect bearing on the problems of

negative phenomena. With this, the accent must be on averting and preventing these phenomena rather than punishing their perpetrators.

The struggle against negative phenomena is carried out on the basis of legal regulations and runs through the entire system of social management. As far as prevention is concerned, i.e. aversion of negative phenomena, this is a specific social management activity, an independent function of state agencies (not only of law-enforcement agencies) and of public organizations. In executing it, legal and moral norms, as well as a series of organizational principles, play a role. In their totality, they regulate the system of social prevention and the entire activity of the objects of preventive work.⁶

The goal pursued by the organization and management of the struggle against negative phenomena is first and foremost the basis and extent of the manifestation, and their intensity. Our socialist society and the state dispose of various resources for this. But the most direct and sure way to reach the established goal is elimination of the causes that engender them. Knowledge of the chain of causes that determine the negative phenomena will lead to the attack of those links in the chain that are susceptible to directed intervention, and in this way the chain will be broken, i.e. the factors leading to negative phenomena will be isolated.

Investigation of the causes of the emergence of negative phenomena is not merely a theoretic cognitive problem. It has more far-reaching goals that are directed at social practice.

Organization of the struggle against negative phenomena is a multifaceted activity. It includes measures of a varied nature with the participation of various agencies and institutes. According to I.I. Karpets, chief among them are:

- a) state-wide measures of an economic, ideological and educational nature;
- b) measures of a legislative nature (including punitive measures), which determine the major directions of the struggle against negative phenomena, chiefly against crime;
- c) activity of state agencies and public organizations to discover the reasons and conditions for perpetration of antisocial activities and take steps to eliminate and avert them;
- d) execution of social measures imposed by the specific setting created.⁷

To a great extent, the effectiveness of the struggle against negative phenomena depends on the work of the agencies conducting it. This axiomatic fact obliges the respective agencies to acquaint themselves with the problems of this struggle and create the kind of organization from which positive results can be expected.

Here we must bear certain other factors in mind, which, while of a different character, are significant to the results of the work at hand. I mean the role of the labor collectives, the condition of glasnost and responsibility.

The role of the labor collectives in the struggle against negative phenomena is an indivisible part of its educational activity. Fulfilment of this function presupposes committed social involvement of the members of the collective, development of criticism and self-criticism, creation and support of a healthy social and psychological climate, examination of public opinion in the labor collective, its correct formation and use of its opportunities in educational work and more specifically in the struggle against negative phenomena. The collective opinion has great educational potential and is in a position to reflect decisively on the conduct of members of the collective.

The effectiveness of the preventive influence of the collective opinion depends on the presence of certain conditions, the most important of which, according to N.G. Kobets, are the following: purposeful attitude in forming the opinion of the collective; discovering the most active forms of influence on the collective opinion; continuous examination of the opinion of the collective on certain questions; support for the collective opinion on the part of the administration, the public organizations and their agencies. Party, professional, and komsomol organizations must actively participate in formulating the collective opinion. This will assist in a principally correct orientation of the members of the labor collective.⁸

Despite the positive changes in recent years, the principle of glasnost has not entered the battle against negative phenomena to the extent necessary. Some individuals and institutes stubbornly refrain from bringing to light a series of strictly reprehensible actions and deeds. For a more decisive inculcation into the practice of the principle of glasnost, first and foremost the mass media have their responsibility, but we should not underestimate the role of the law-enforcement agencies, public agencies, public organizations, and labor collectives. We clearly need closer cooperation between the mass media on the one hand and the agencies of the prosecuting magistrate and the court on the other so that specific actions do not remain locked up in the court room or between files of correspondence. Superfluous secrecy in the work of the law-enforcement agencies does not contribute to their fulfilling their preventive function, which is their primary task.

Perhaps it is time to disclose the criminal (court) statistics in Bulgaria, which are now not divulged (for official use only). There are hardly adequate grounds for continuing the present situation. Disclosing crime statistics would extend the principle of glasnost to the most serious negative phenomena—crimes. It is appropriate to point out that Bulgaria is one of the few countries in the world in which these statistics are not divulged.

In the struggle against negative phenomena, responsibility is an important factor, as an opportunity and as a realization. The very thought that one would have to bear the responsibility for antisocial conduct represents a psychological barrier against permitting such conduct. Seeking responsibility itself is, of course, a preventive factor. Resigned acceptance of negative phenomena merely favors their repetition and expansion.

The issue of responsibility can be looked at from many points of view - that of its nature and the means of achieving it, and that of the agencies and institutes that will seek it. What is important here is the nature of the deed and its gravity. Moral responsibility is included within the context of responsibility, and this may also play an important educational role with respect to the perpetrator. This is responsibility that is achieved chiefly in the labor collective and is expressed in comradely disapproval, rebuke, censure, and subjection to well-founded criticism for the member of the collective whose conduct deviates from the norms. Of course, in certain cases foreseen by law, legal responsibility comes to the fore. It must be categorically stressed that, in the struggle against negative phenomena, the most essential principle is that of the inevitability of responsibility. Its maintenance stands at the basis of the preventive function of responsibility.

For the struggle against crime to be more successful and effective many other prerequisites and conditions must be present. In today's society, with its complex social ties, the struggle against negative phenomena cannot be waged with obsolete means and methods. We must use the achievements of management theory and other sciences. This means that we must apply the principles of programming, planning and forecasting, and so on. Hence, the battle against negative phenomena should be founded both on empirical investigation and on the aggregate of scientific methods, taking into account not only the present but also the future, and including the participation of scientists and practical workers alike.

Application of the principle of integration has major significance. Improvement of social management must be achieved through integration: in the planning stage, in the process of organization of labor, in control, and in the training of executives".⁹

This is valid in full force for the organization of the struggle with negative phenomena. Another reason for the integral approach here is the nature of the phenomena that are not affected. They themselves have an integral nature, with respect to their causes, with respect to the forms in which they are manifest, and with a view to the methods used in the struggle against them.

Planning the struggle against negative phenomena may be achieved in two ways: through independent plans or by including these problems in more general plans for social development. In practice two forms are used. The paramount requirement in drawing up plans is to set

realistic goals. In setting unrealistic goals (for example, total elimination of a given category of crime in a given time) compromises the plan from the outset.

The general basis of planned management in the struggle against negative phenomena in our country (foremost against crime) is the uniform program for struggle with crime and other violations of the law and antisocial manifestations, adopted by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This plans for social, economic, ideologic, propagandistic and legal measures for counteraction against the phenomena indicated therein, improvement of preventive activity, improvement in the work of the courts, the prosecuting magistrate and investigational agencies to raise the qualifications of employees in the law-enforcement agencies, and so on. The program obligates labor collectives' plans for social development to include obligatory measures for the battle against crime, other violations of the law and antisocial manifestations, especially against crimes against socialist property and against inefficient management, transport safety and violations of the laws of labor protection.

At that time, the unified program obligated the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Committee for Culture, the Ministry of Education and other scholarly organizations and institutes to adopt a program of research into bourgeois influence and the mechanism of the manifestation of antisocial opinions and conduct and to develop measures to counteract these phenomena. Recommendations have been made to the editors of central newspapers to introduce and maintain rubrics on legal themes with a social and ethical content. Recommendations have been made to public organizations to take steps to reinforce the educational influence of the social milieu, improve the social climate in the collectives, eliminate the conditions that predispose to perpetration of antisocial manifestations, and create an atmosphere of impatience towards individuals who make such gestures.

The unified program for the struggle with crime and other violations of the law and antisocial manifestations is a document that not only gives directions but also establishes the issues of the struggle against negative phenomena on a planned basis.

In accomplishing planned management of the struggle against negative phenomena, the spearhead must be directed chiefly against the most serious, against those who inflict the greatest damages to society. In the present phase, these are first and foremost **economic crimes**¹⁰. This conclusion is based on several considerations.

First, crimes in this sphere are the leading cause of crime in the qualitative sense. Indeed the qualitative index alone is sufficient grounds for the need to take decisive measures to limit them.

Second, infringements in the economic sphere cause considerable damages to the national economy and to the whole of society. And as we have already pointed out, the trend is towards an increase in damages.

Third, economic crimes cause large material and real moral damages. They lead to crude violation of the socialist principle of distribution and reward according to the quantity and quality of work, they create an atmosphere of amorality, and engender corruption, etc.

Fourth, economic crimes are frequently the result of organized activity. When officials and even managers are involved in this activity, this inevitably leads to demoralization of the labor collectives.

We must point out that the opportunities for immediate counteraction against economic crimes are greater than in other categories of crime (for example, crime against the individual), since organizational and other measures of a management nature can be applied successfully to the economy.

The scientific and technical revolution poses specific problems in the struggle against negative phenomena. These are certain negative consequences of progress, which may be classified into several groups.

The first group encompasses actions in which rules of technical safety are violated and serious damages ensue or the risk of such damages is created.

The second group encompasses actions that are associated with pollution of the air, water, soil, and so on, to the extent of creating risk to the life and health of the people. Here, the issues are far from exhausted with the legal side and sanctions alone will not resolve them. With all the resources available, we must promote directed ecological education, and create an attitude towards nature that will hopefully protect it from harmful influences.

The third group encompasses crimes associated with the incredible growth in the number of automobiles and its consequences. Increased motorization creates two types of danger: on the one hand an increased risk of traffic accident, and on the other hand pollution of the environment.

In general the scientific and technical revolution poses new problems for the struggle against crime and other negative phenomena (including the need to counteract "computer crime," which is fairly widespread in the West). This means that new methods must be found—again through the achievements of scientific and technical progress—to resolve them.

A forecast study conducted by the appropriate agencies and institutes is a prerequisite for the correct organization of the struggle against negative phenomena. The goal of this study is to view the development of negative

phenomena not merely in their present condition but in perspective, i.e. their expected future development. This is necessary to take timely measures for counteraction.

The demand for active social forecasting is also imposed by the fact that currently in Bulgaria the entire social system is constructed on the principle of self-management.

The goal of forecasting in the sphere under discussion is to perceive in time the possible dangers of the manifestation of such phenomena and processes that would hamper the practical fulfilment of this founding principle. We should not be persuaded that, with self-management, there will not be unscrupulous citizens who try to use the situation for their own selfish ends. We have examples with the secondary activity of companies and with the self-satisfaction when, in a series of cases, those positive initiatives that were expected to have a good economic effect were used to personal advantage and turned to criminal ends.

In the **BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE CONCEPT OF FURTHER CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA**, it is stated that "in conditions of self-management, the direct producers are both owners and managers of the common and inseparable property".¹¹ This programmed position of the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the BCP has already called attention to the problem of protecting public property from infringements and imprudent use.

A forecast of the possibility of manifestation of certain negative phenomena in the conditions of self-management should not be looked upon as pessimism but as reality. It expresses a desire to avert everything that would prevent the full realization of the principle of self-management. This also applies to the exercise of collective and individual work activity of citizens for the production of goods and services, controlled by the special regulations of June 1987. In fact these regulations allude to certain possible violations, for which appropriate sanctions are foreseen. However, it should not be thought that other violations will not occur as a result of application of the normative act being used to personal advantage, or that the opportunities opened up by the new regulation of individual and collective work activity will not be used for illegal deeds. Clearly, social and legal forecasting may play a preventive role here too.

In the current stage of our development—a stage of integral restructuring in all sectors of public life—negative phenomena are one of the serious impediments to fulfilment of this restructuring. They are reflected in thought, exert a restrictive influence on positive processes, corrupt the consciousness of many people, alienate them from the general advance of socialist construction and morality. In addition, they inflict considerable material damages on society.

All this determines and imposes the need for universal reinforcement of the struggle against negative phenomena—in all directions, and in all spheres. We must concentrate the whole arsenal of resources in this struggle—pedagogical, psychological, organizational, and administrative. We should not underestimate the role of sanctions, both moral and legal. The integral application of these resources on a social and individual level outlines the route of effective counteraction against negative phenomena to restrict the extent of their manifestation.

Footnotes

1. 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Reports and Resolutions. Sofia, Partizdat, 1986, p 23.
2. The okrug court in Burgas heard a criminal case against 74 individuals who, in various combinations, used certain obstacles to trade with seedlings and managed to commit numerous crimes—appropriation, document fraud, other official crimes, and so on. In addition, a significant amount of bribery was uncovered during the trial.
3. Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Sofia, Partizdat, 1971, p 79.
4. Zhivkov, T. Problems and Methods of the Construction of Mature Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. 1984, pp 238-239.
5. See Afanasiev, V.G. "Dialectics of Socialism, Management, and Planning." VOPROSY FILOSOFII [Soviet journal], 1979, No. 6, p 31.
6. See Beshkov, N. "The Crux of Crime Prevention" in: Crime Prevention. Sofia, Nauka i Izkystvo, 1980, p 37.
7. See Karpetz, I.I. "Problems of Crime" in: Legal Review. Moscow, 1971, p 161 ff.
8. See Kobetz, N.G. "Reprimand of Violators in Manufacturing Collectives" in: Legal Review. Moscow, 1982, pp 176-188.
9. Zhivkov, T. Problems and Methods of the Construction of Mature Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. 1984, p 82.
10. See Lyutov, K. "Support and the Law—A Partywide and Countrywide Task." POLITICHESKA PROS-VETA, 1986, No. 5, p 80 ff.
11. Zhivkov, T. Basic Principles of the Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Sofia, Partizdat, 1987, p 35.

POLAND

'Blank Spots' Initiative, Premises for Historical Revision Examined

26000271b Warsaw *PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI* in
Polish No 14/15, 3/10 Apr 88 p 11

[Article by Anna Radziwill: "Blank Spots or Dirty Marks"]

[Text] The phrase "blank spots" has become popular. Introduced widely at the beginning of the Solidarity period, it gradually has been taken over by official propaganda; sanctioned by Soviet perestroika, today it functions as a slogan for various purposes and as has been said "from very different positions." It is worthwhile tracing the origin of this phrase.

Once Europeans used it to denote unexplored areas; blank spots on the map of the world attracted discoverers; the blank spots were treated as an opportunity for the creative effort of a human being.

[Censored material] (Law of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Spectacles art 2 pt 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW no 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW no 44, item 204)) they no longer symbolized something that could be discovered but rather something the uninitiated should not know, something which according to the authorities ought to be hidden.

Next this process went even further, blank spots were insufficient for the needs of ideology and politics, and they were filled in in a peculiar way. In other words, it was not enough to hide the truth; it was necessary to mask the very fact of concealment in some manner, replacing the information removed with new false information. Thus, as someone said, the blank spots became dirty marks.

The fact that in the official version or rather successive versions of history presented for belief in Poland after 1945 there are both blank spots and dirty marks is probably no longer doubted by anyone. In fact, the slogan of a struggle with this phenomenon is promoted by nearly everyone, although to varying degrees. It seems to me, however, that too little attention is paid to the fact that to varying degrees the previous versions of the past have imprinted themselves on the awareness of many. And also to the dangers created by the very conditions themselves in which the action to liquidate these blank spots is situated.

The stereotype that lies behind statements on the subject is more or less as follows: in general society has retained an uninfected, true version of history, and the blank spots, or to abandon the euphemisms, the silences and lies are contained only in the official presentations (textbooks, monographs, propaganda publications, etc.). There is much truth in this view; for if this were not the

case, we would not struggle so stubbornly to liquidate the blank spots. But simultaneously it is worth realizing that neither the awareness of many consumers of official versions of history remains so uninfected, as we frequently think, nor are our current attempts to redress the lies free of their own complications.

Long-term company with a sick, i.e. false, version of history cannot remain without effect; long-term dealings with lies or half-truths always give rise to the danger of deep depravation, both intellectual and psychic. We are implicated in emotions and stereotypes, half-truths, false alternatives. And it appears that we must become aware of these threats if we are to tear ourselves out of this vicious circle.

First, it is worth realizing that frequently in speaking of the liquidation of the blank spots, we do not expect, basically, any new information; one only demands confirmation of what one knows or what one thinks one knows. We do not read articles in the press so carefully or study official statements to learn something new from them but to proclaim that they "let something out"; something which was "quietly" known long ago is now said out loud. Clearly, this shows largely that the official revelations frequently touch on facts generally well-known, that the degree of falsity or silence was genuinely horrifying. Nevertheless, from this type of approach the conviction grows that we really know everything, and it is only necessary to demand that it be said out loud; in other words, it leads to closing oneself off to new information. The otherwise justified attitude of revision shuts off an attitude of inquiry and seeking.

Emotional involvement in the issues of the past, backed with a feeling of alienation from one's own history produces an instrumental relation to the material of history. Evaluations, interpretations, realization become much more important than genuine recognition and understanding how it really was. Perhaps this is the necessary price one pays for a "living history," but I think that sometimes it is too high. For in this way, one loses, to use a fashionable work, one's subjectness in history, and all the more the science of history.

This phenomenon is accompanied by a high judgment of Polish historical awareness. It is frequently emphasized that one rarely encounters a society that lives its own history to such a degree, for which historical traditions play such a role, which are so frequently a reference point for contemporary judgments and choices.

This is probably true. The debate whether the presence of history is beneficial for Polish society or whether it is a burden and what is its genesis has lasted a long time. Nevertheless, it seems that there is a tendency to idealize our historical awareness and this idealization forms the foundation that facilitates both the formation of closed attitudes, incompatible with new interpretations (not

new in relation to previous official ones, but new in relation to those functioning in our consciousness) and defensive and aggressive attitudes, which as you know frequently go together.

Simultaneously, convinced we possess a true version of the past, we cease, however, to notice to how high a degree we depend on the official versions promoted for the last 40 years. And dependent both directly and indirectly. I fear that until we realize this it will be difficult to speak of a genuine liquidation of blank spots, understanding this liquidation as a care not so much (or not only) for a transformation of what, imprecisely, one can call popular official historiography but also a care for the state of the historical sensibility of the consumers of this historiography. We are in the unbelievably difficult situation in which words more than ever before take on meaning not because of what they denote but by who and in which context they are spoken. A situation that gives rise to suspicion, mistrust, and sometimes, in self-defense, cynicism.

We begin to create false alternatives, to see falsehood as something it is not, we build our antiversions, which rather serve to counteract the official version than actually to recognize the past. And actually, although a rebours, we become captives.

Between an imposed indoctrination and a created indoctrination as a form of self-defense, things become increasingly crowded.

For many years we were taught the history of Poland in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century as the history of the peasants' or workers' movement so that as a result it is truly difficult, especially among young people, to encounter someone who can understand that the slogan of a struggle with social injustice is not a banality. For so many years we have been told that the Second Republic was a land of strikes and poverty, that the Poland of the Sanacja [the term used by post World War II to describe the interwar years in Poland] regime was a state of repression and terror, that in the end we have reached such an idealization of this period in the social consciousness that any mention of a starving village in the 1930's or of political prisoners in the interwar period is considered suspicious at the least or simply rejected.

We have been told for so long that the whole nation greeted the new authorities with joy in 1944 that finally we find it difficult to believe that there really were people who considered the new system a harbinger of an improvement in their fate and that the whole of the postwar years does not reduce to terror.

A selective redress of the lies for certain periods and events has begun, but the general appearance remains untouched. Much is known already about the policy of the USSR towards Poland during World War II, but, for

example, has knowledge of the broad program for transforming the social order formulated by a group within the Polish underground state actually become part of our social awareness? Do people realize that the land reform was not exclusively the result of the communists taking over power?

Thus, our knowledge is still largely shaped in relation to the official version of history; we are not creating our own version but an antiversions.

There is, however, also a direct dependence of which we are not always aware. We sometimes fail to realize the degree to which our thinking and language are conditioned by the categories and concepts of marxist ideology. A conscious choice of this methodology can be each person's decision, but it is something else...to use it just because we cannot imagine the existence of other possibilities. A young person who is asked if he thinks marxist methodology is the best key to understanding history frequently denies it, but simultaneously constantly uses such categories as historical process, class situation, feudal order, etc., because these are the only ones he has from his textbooks.

Thus, the blank spots, understood as false information or lack of information, or finally, which is more important, false generalizations and stereotypes flowing from a crippled factography occur not only in official versions of history but in our (read: society's) awareness. The latter are largely the result of the interiorization of the influence of the distortions of official historiography, but they in part derive from our arguably obvious obligation to resist it. It is becoming increasingly imperative to free the vision of the past functioning in society from both of these dangers.

13021

Archbishop Glemp Presides at Inauguration of First Catholic Bookstore
26000271a Warsaw PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 14/15, 3/10 Apr 88 p 12

[Unattributed report: "St. John the Baptist Bookstore"]

[Text] On 18 March, the eve of the feast day of St. Joseph, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, Primate of Poland, officially opened the St. John the Baptist Bookstore at Krakowskie Przedmiescie 52/54, in the building of the proseminary.

Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk, Prelate Stanislaw Markowski, Prelate Zdzislaw Krol (Chancellor of the Curia), Prelate Edward Majcher of the Educational Section of the Catholic Curia, Father Grzegorz Kalwarczyk of the Section for Sacramental Affairs of the Curia, Father Wieslaw Al. Nieweglowski (pastor of the creative communities), Canon Edward Zmijewski, Brother Fabian Pietka (guardian of the Franciscans in Niepokalanow), Mother Zofia Chomiuk (superior general of the Loretan

sisters) and the future employees of bookstore, and Father Romuald Kamiński (Chaplain, Father for the Primate), and the employees of the Warsaw Archdiocese Publishing House participated in the ceremony blessing the facilities and in the opening of the bookstore.

Father Waldemar Wojdecki, director of the Publishing House and editor-in-chief of PRZEGŁAD KATOLICKI in greeting the Primate said: "For Warsaw, for the Archdiocese, this is the beginning of a new endeavor. Previously, we have not had our own bookstores to serve the archdiocese. I think that this first facility is the beginning of an venture, which we are undertaking, for we want to establish a dozen or so bookstores in the various cities of the archdiocese. This contribution of ours to the dissemination of Catholic books and newspapers, it seems to us, will be very valuable to the faithful."

In blessing the bookstore the Primate prayed: "Our mighty, everlasting Father, we ask You to bless this bookstore which we are opening today. May it serve to spread Your word and contribute to the building of community in our Archdiocese; may recognition of You, the call to observe Your commandments go forth from here and may learning for the love of man flow from here. Let, we ask, all who come to this bookstore through the books, journals and religious articles purchased here grow in all that is good and may they be filled with peace. Bless all those who work here and all those associated through their work with this bookstore: may they perform their service to Your glory and for the good of people with enthusiasm."

The Primate thanked all those who had contributed to the opening of this facility. He had special words for the Loretan sisters and Franciscans of Niepokalanow who help in the work of the Archdiocese Publishing House.

The ceremony closed with the presentation of commemorative copies of books signed by the authors: Cardinal Józef Glemp, Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk, Father Wiesław Al. Nieweglowski, and Father Waldemar Wojdecki.

The bookstore is open from Monday through Friday from 9 am to 5 pm and on Saturdays from 9 am to 2 pm.

13021

YUGOSLAVIA

Slovene Coup Rumors Reviewed

28000130a Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
31 May 88 p 17

[Article by Marinko Culic: "The Putsch in Dezela: What Is the Truth About the Alleged Military Putsch in Slovenia?"]

[Text] With a speed that is no longer surprising the blaring scandal that broke out over the alleged military-police putsch in Slovenia has had a response at the

highest level. The SFRY State Presidency met the middle of last week and without naming the publication assessed the most recent escapade of MLADINA as a continuation, what is more "escalation," of the attacks on the YPA, which are taking on the dimensions of a "campaign of slander" directed even against the SFRY State Presidency, the constitutional order, and the "general efforts toward further democratization of relations in our society."

It is notable that on this occasion the collective chief of state avoided the "disastrous" label ("special warfare," "counterrevolutionary activity") which has been abundantly used in the recent past, indeed even at the meeting of that body in February, but it repeated the demand made on that occasion for these "phenomena" to be opposed by everyone, "above all, people where they occur." This has once again emphasized not only "what happened," but also, "where it happened," and in the most recent media reactions to the events in the dezela [the Slovene word for "country"] this has been a subject of strained attention, interlaced in some places with direct questions to the Slovenian leadership that are as sharp as those of an investigator. In its last issue, NIN said that here it is not a question of MLADINA, but that it is "only a symbol of a political conception and attitude toward Yugoslavia." POLITIKA EKSPRES asks why Kucan did not "clearly and loudly" deny the existence of the putsch scenario, and both papers "orchestrated" the same fact, that none of the members of the Slovenian LC Central Committee had anything to say at the last meeting or to ask anything about what MLADINA wrote and about the official report that was issued.

It should be mentioned that that report (by the Republic Committee for Information), from which one should have expected full information about the existence or nonexistence of an intended putsch—and that is precisely the point that was vaguest—started an avalanche of all the reactions last summer, beginning with the "empty space" that was intentionally left in it (POLITIKA EKSPRES), and ending with those differently intoned suspicions, as in the case of the delegate query put in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovenian Assembly seeking additional clarifications from the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the latter was supposed to explain in the next session whether in the meeting called on the initiative of the command of the Ljubljana Army District in March there was mention not only about general conditions in Slovenia, but even about specific measures, and if so, which. As is evident, up until this point it has seemed that only the competent authorities in Slovenia were short in giving information about the existence or nonexistence of preparations for a putsch. But a day later a communication was received from the meeting of the SFRY State Presidency in which it was stated for the first time that the speculations about a putsch were "rumors with no basis whatsoever." But the flywheel of events has continued to turn in the meantime, and in DNEVNIK in Ljubljana and in MLADINA an "open letter" has been published from 22

Slovenian public figures to the LCY Central Committee and to the LCY Conference seeking publication of material confirming or rejecting the rumors about the instruction of the Military Council, or otherwise to put the question for the signatories of the point of staying in the party.

The "open letter" demanded publication of the transcript of the meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on 29 March, which circulated in Ljubljana and in it an unidentified Slovenian leader (by all appearances Kucan) explained the circumstances in which extraordinary measures were prepared. According to the excerpt from what is alleged to be the transcript, as published by POLET, Kucan (?) says that he received reports on this from the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs and that "he and Stane" refused to talk about this, since it is "quite clear that any such activity that did not take into account the very subtle political situation in Slovenia would have irreparable political consequences for which the political leadership would be unable to assume responsibility."

As is well-known, an extensive excerpt from the transcript was to be published in MLADINA, but the editors decided—some say on Kucan's intervention—to withdraw it from the press. In the last issue of MLADINA, however, Kucan himself answers the questions which the editors put to several Slovenian public figures in this connection (Veno Taufer, Ciril Zlobec), among them the chairman of the Slovenian party.

In answer to the question of whether he thinks there is a real danger of resolving the tense relations in Yugoslavia in an "undemocratic, repressive, and unconstitutional way," Kucan answered in the negative, since "no attempt of this kind at resolution could have any long-term result" and because there are neither "serious intentions" nor indeed even "serious political forces" that would attempt such a thing (the emphasis on the word "serious" might bring upon the chairman of the Slovenian LC the objection that he was evading a full explanation). Kucan also answered the question about the hue and cry in Yugoslavia recently against democratic processes taking place in Slovenia, saying that he cannot agree with that expression, that it disqualifies democratic discussion and that he would not explain the tense political situation in the country in terms of any "hue and cry," but rather in terms of "unresolved issues in social development, especially economic issues and those of social welfare."

The last little stone in the mosaic of the tale about the putsch was added in a meeting of the Press Council of the Slovenian Republic Committee of the SAWP; by all appearances it debated just last week the reporting of the Slovenian news media on issues of nationwide defense and social self-protection, a debate that was scheduled in advance. It concluded that "aside from a few exceptions" they had correctly performed their task, but adoption of that conclusion was preceded by an effort of

representatives of the Ljubljana Military District to supplement it with explicit mention of MLADINA, KATEDRA, and TRIBUNA as the "exceptions," and by the council's refusal to agree to that. Perhaps we will see this very week whether those were the tremblings of a dying down or of a further complication of the Rashomon tale about the putsch. In the meantime, curiosity as to its denouement has far exceeded the limits of the country, and differing opinions are being expressed in the foreign press about the alleged putsch, from some to the effect that events "have confirmed the rumors that a military putsch was planned" (the AP, Independent), to the exact opposite—that the Army, if it had ambitions to carry out a putsch, would certainly have acted "more rapidly and discreetly" (the BBC), and that the entire story has by all appearances been "inflated" (LA STAMPA).

It is yet to be seen whether we are nearly as enigmatic to foreigners as we are to ourselves.

07045

Meier Views Croatian Attitude Toward Slovene Events

23000107 Frankfurt/Main *FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* in German 5 Jul 88 p 6

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Croatia Wants To Keep a Low Profile—Deep Down Inside It Sides With the Slovenes—The Shock of 1971"]

[Text] Zagreb, 4 July—These days the Croatian Republic makes news primarily by its silence. In Zagreb, it is difficult to determine the trend of that republic's development. Most people you talk to will say: "Deep down inside, we are siding with the Slovenes, but we don't want to say so openly." On the other hand it appears that the expressions of independence, which have primarily been noted in the magazine DANAS during the last 2 years, do not meet with acceptance by the entire leadership. The economic editor of that publication, who is one of the outstanding critics of the Mikulic government, has applied for a permanent job with a Slovene newspaper in Ljubljana. The Catholic Church does not wish to make difficulties for the republic's government and keeps quiet also. In return for this policy the party is generally leaving the church in peace as well.

Geographically and ethnically, Croatia is heterogeneous. Dalmatia, with the city of Split at its center, has an old tradition of being pro-Yugoslav, partly even unitarian. Superimposed upon this however is a steady influx of very Croatian-minded people from the hinterlands, especially since World War II. Zagreb is dominated by a Western-European appearing middle class which has no political leanings and is preoccupied with business matters. In the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel it would never occur to anyone that he happens to be in a

communist country. Almost 15 percent of the inhabitants of Croatia are Serbs, and from their ranks in turn come 30 percent of communist party members and many policemen, because they had widely participated in the partisan struggles.

The de facto leader of those Serbs, Dragosavac, is one of the main pillars of the dogmatists. The Republic of Croatia may not even continue to define its language as "Croat;" the future formulation is likely to be "Croat or Serbian," as previously suggested by Stipe Suvar, who was recently appointed federal party chairman.

There appear to be three groups within the Central Committee: the dogmatic wing with Suvar at its center, which also represents the unitarian tendencies; on the other side, the progressive, reformist wing, following the former chairman of the republic presidium, Ante Markovic. In between is the large group of the undecided. The Markovic wing appears to predominate at the upper elements of the republic and its party, but its liberal influence is not very far reaching. It took strong intervention to abandon the prosecution of opposition intellectual Paraga, even though the charges against him were resting on a very weak foundation. However, the Central Committee of the Republic was unable to agree which of its two representatives in the federal party leadership, Suvar or the ideologue Racan, it should recommend to the other members as a candidate for chairman of the federal party. Neither one is well liked in the Croatian republic, and it was a question of "kicking them upstairs" to Belgrade. The Federal Party Presidium's decision in favor of Suvar was a purely political one, for the dogmatist rather than for the colorless intellectual.

The current political and ideological poles of Yugoslavia are Belgrade and Ljubljana. Zagreb sits quietly between them. But Croatia nevertheless feels the impact of the difficulties besetting the country. It is true that there have been no major strikes in Croatia until now as a result of the economic situation and the lag of salaries behind inflation, contrary to which has happened in Belgrade and some Slovenian cities. However, the Croat trade unions are as little impressed with the performance of the federal government under Mikulic as is the majority of the Croat leadership. It is likely that the Croat unions have also been encouraging strikes. But apart from the progressive economists in Zagreb there are still many others who are in favor of that "economy by agreement" which until recently Mikulic wanted to use as a substitute for a free market. Recently, some Soviet economic scientists visited Zagreb and were astounded over the "reactionary," anti-market theses with which they were confronted during their discussions at the academy.

The reason given for the uncertain attitude and disagreement among the communists of this republic is the fact that they still feel the shock of 1971 in their bones. At that time Tito, aided by a part of the local leadership, crushed the so-called "Croatian spring." It is said that

one must remember that at that time it was not only that individuals were arrested and sentenced because of their views, but that in addition thousands lost their jobs and suffered other kinds of persecution. Therefore today's Croats are satisfied to let the Slovenes fight the main battles for those principles which are dear to them also. As a result, the Slovenes are often alone and are forced to expose themselves as "pioneer fighters" for economic reforms and political independence to an extent which places them on the fringes of Yugoslav society. When the Croats hear that, as a result of anti-Slovene campaigns in various parts of Yugoslavia, increasing numbers of Slovenes are toying with the idea of a Slovenia independent of Yugoslavia, this goes too far, as far as the Croats are concerned. Without Slovenia, Croatia would face the Serbs of Yugoslavia all alone, as well as the other underdeveloped parts of the country. Croatia would have to assume the role of the biggest revenue producer, which is presently held by Slovenia. Permitting Stipe Suvar to reach the position at the head of the Federal Presidium of the party was neither an act of friendship toward the Slovenes, nor was it very clever.

9173/12232

Profile of Milan Kucan's Life, His Ideas Presented

28000124 Zagreb *DANAS* in Serbo-Croatian
3 May 88 p 18, 19

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "The Trubar of Slovene Reformation: Top Man in Slovene Party Gives Personal Stamp of Approval to View of Socialism as Society of Rich and Prosperous People"]

[Text] In this country, which is becoming Europe's "archeological mausoleum," with its indirect elections, inflation, debt, national and religious intolerance, those who simplify politics assert that the choice for the future boils down to "Yugoslavia without democracy"—the copyright for this theory is said to belong to Stipe Suvar—and "democracy without Yugoslavia," the attitude imputed to Milan Kucan.

Both of these high-profile politicians, of course, deny their authorship rights for the present; however, the impression remains that, as former close associates from the days of their strong leadership of the Yugoslav organization of students, they function as a metaphor of two equally large-scale demands: on the one hand, for a rebuilding of authoritative leadership, and on the other hand, for a democratic metamorphosis of the Party and of society. Since their political roles today are much more important, and because there is less and less time, the pace is quickening, the dangers are greater and political emancipation is increasingly unusual (because it even gives the citizens that which the leaders do not like), many politicians are uncertain about what to do, or even

what to think. However, this is not true of Kucan, the official leader of the Slovene communists, nor, one might say, of the majority of the elected spokesmen of the Slovene nation.

His sympathizers emphasize how Kucan, 47, comes several centuries after Primoz Trubar, the first leader of the Slovene Protestant provenance. His opponents also emphasize this fact, but with a different image, noting that he was born in Prekomurje, an atypical Slovene region (for a long time separated from the motherland, belonging to Hungary), that his mother came from a "kulak family" and that Kucan, as a youth in Medimurje, played soccer instead of going out for skiing, mountain-climbing and basketball, like other upright Slovenes. His father, a teacher, died in 1944 in the battles for the liberation of Cacak, was buried in Gornji Milanovac, and in 1954 was moved to Murska Sobota. Kucan grew up amidst the tradition of the German form of Protestantism, where he mastered the skill of self-restraint, learning in the process the importance of detail. This is reflected not only in his political deportment, but also in the overall "design" of a leader of the new generation. Living with four sisters, he developed a feeling for orderliness, and there is no dearth of pictures in which right before a meeting, Kucan is using a comb—which he always has with him—to force his "self-management" hair into place.

In many ways, he is a "planned" Slovene leader. After all, he entered politics as a high school student, only to never leave it; up to his present function, he has always been the youngest member of every leadership board on which he has sat. He completed his law school studies with "A" grades, and to this day he occasionally expresses a feeling of guilt that he has never been a lawyer. He took the classical advancement track, from working in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia to the republican Assembly. Like the majority of top-level "northern" politicians, he spent 4 "obligatory" years in Belgrade (member of the Presidency of the LCY from 1982 to 1986). He himself talks as if work in the Federation is unavoidable for any Slovene politician, because it is only from that position that one sees the complexity of Yugoslavia. He often tells his friends how he arrived in Belgrade "young, green and naive," lacking previous knowledge, and that at a meeting of a group to figure out relations with Serbia, he started on the assumption that relations between the provinces and Serbia proper would be better, even for these types of decisions, if there was more mutual respect and desire for cooperation among the leaders present. He says that he realized the gravity of the situation only during the break, when a representative of "one of the sides" whispered to him, "Kucan, you are talking like that because you have never eaten lebac with them."

He also talks about his "Croatian gaffe," although not willingly. At one point on the Presidency, insufficiently informed about the structure and delicate balance of forces in Croatia, he asked Spiljak why Croatia was not

going to nominate a certain well-known professor of sociology for a seat on the Presidency. He says that the reaction was so vehement that he never dared to ask a similar question again, not only because of the vehemence of the reaction, but also because of the "political break-up" with the professor of sociology.

Having distilled his trade, Kucan returned to Slovenia and assumed leadership during a time in which his fellow Slovenians had begun to remove the gilt layer from the "inviolable truth" about the communist party, our version of socialism, the class struggle, the peasantry, democratic centralism, religion, the status of politicians, pluralism and differences within the country, the army, the federation, foreign policy and an inward orientation. All this meant that he subsequently got a "curtailed" communist party, because the League of Communists of Slovenia over the course of several years fell from 126,000 to 114,000 members, part of a trend towards dropping below the six-digit-figure threshold. As the image of Yugoslavia in the mind of the average Slovene changed, so disappeared "in the south" the former stereotype of a Slovenia that was using the entire country as a formula for success and as a place that is ashamed of the others. Kucan arrived at a time when, on the whole, Slovenes were "trying out their wings." However, he believes that the federation is not as complicated as it seems in difficult times, referring to the experiences from the time of prosperity when Yugoslavia was responsible for all its nations and nationalities. However, Kucan, like the majority of Slovene leaders, feels that hungry and dissatisfied Slovenes do not believe in the beauty of just any idea, even the socialist one.

Since Kucan does not question who is responsible for the current collapse—not because the question does not interest him, but rather because he is confident that he knows who botched things—his theory is based on the conviction that nothing is impossible if social energy is wasted less on discussing who has offended or accused whom of "ideological liberalism" where and how many times, and if there is commitment to other types of development projects, in European and democratic terms. In his opinion, a majority must be formed concerning the formulation and democratic implementation of these projects, diverting the focus of discussion toward the future, while not neglecting the lessons of the past. Kucan mentions Franac Levstik and his maxim that in politics the wisely thought-out path is the best one, and that it should not be deviated from to the left or to the right!

The existing framework has imposed on Kucan the role of a strategic thinker, theoretician, the "new Kardelj," as some Slovenes call him, although he views himself as "a clerical person and a person of practice" who deals with theories only when he has to. Still, there is no doubt that his characterization is somewhere between Kidric, who was a man of action and the masses, Kardelj, who tended

more to be a "reflective politician," avoiding direct contact with the masses, and Boris Krajger, the originator and ideologue of the 1965 reforms.

Certain that the answer to our current problems is not to be found in Marx's writings, Kucan's plans are "more Hegelian than Descartian," they introduce more uncertainty but also tranquility, because they definitively assert that the fanatical sustenance of the past does not constitute the most certain path into the future. Taking into account the fact that Slovene politicians, up to the postwar generation, have not "survived" the test of history, with the exception of Preseran, Cankar, Levstik, Trubar and, to a certain degree, Kocbek, Kucan represents that which every current Slovene leader must be: half politician, half cultural worker. During his term in office, communists have returned to their early, propagandistic phase, with groups, citizens and associations struggling for the voices and souls of their fellow countrymen. Kucan accepted an invitation to be the guest at a "political supper," where he would answer questions from inquisitive people who had bought admission tickets and thus the right to ask questions. There are malicious people who maintain that these suppers are organized and that top-level politicians are invited to them in order to suppress the catastrophic decline in the quality of the traditionally good Slovene cuisine, but Kucan himself says that at these duels it is good to be knowledgeable, well-versed, well-informed, cynical, witty and sometimes malicious, and that it is necessary to emerge victorious before the audience, primarily intellectuals who are not enthusiastic about the results of socialism and the behavior of communists! Because of this, several of his colleagues accuse Kucan of promoting social democracy, but he maintains that qualifications cannot substitute for the fact that the Romanian model of socialism cannot be our perspective and that we have somewhat compromised good programs and ideas because of our inability to lend them the corresponding material support.

Because he does not say "what he is against," but rather what he is for, because there is no evidence that he has used his political power outside of his program, even the traditionally bloodthirsty youth press of Slovenia has in a certain sense adopted Kucan: It has not written a single attack on him. This is something that few Slovenian politicians can boast of (some have broken off their careers because of writings in the youth press), but Kucan does not hide the fact that in a number of regards he does not agree with the people in their 30s who are dictating the pace and rhythm of those publications. As far we know, he even maintains that because of the roadblock in political tracks with advancement possibilities, this generation is attempting to participate in power, control and rule through the youth by means of its radicalism. Some of Kucan's friends and acquaintances, communists in their younger days, are convinced that the League of Communists has fallen far short of its declared goals, are struck by doubt that socialism can be realized through the party, and today do sketches in

NOVA REVIIA. In Kucan's opinion, however, their influence on the political atmosphere in Slovenia is overrated in other regions. Kucan no longer sees them today, not even while jogging, because, as he himself says, "I am behind our cause, but democracy is not only for those who agree with me, but also for those who are against."

Given the idea that Slovenian democracy is an excellent cause, provided that you are a Slovene, and the fact that studies indicate a growth in heretical ideas concerning the possibilities of Slovenian existence outside the Yugoslav context, insofar as they become narrower to the extent to which they do not correspond to the created national consensus, then assuming "Slovenia as a religion" and the Balkans as "an obscure allegory," Kucan states that the Slovenian separatist consciousness is produced in the factory of the crisis, that it is anything but predominant, but that there is an interesting phenomenon: The more Slovene communists open up, using the central committee as the "pluralistic, democratic, electronic brain of the nation," the more all groups, on the radical left and radical right (whatever these points of reference mean) as well, radicalize their positions and use early communist methods from the cadre party. They accuse Kucan of "deference towards Belgrade" while in the opposite direction voices are raised about "the cohabitation of Slovenian communists with separatists and counterrevolutionaries" and about irregular relations with "agents of the special war."

Despite all this, every state needs its Slovenia, not only because of chlorophyll, but also because of the political bio-energy that emanates from clearly populist enthusiasm. However, Kucan is not afraid of a national consensus (this is probably true of other territories as well) because he regards that as an unavoidable condition for the institution of reforms within every republic and the federation. In addition, Kucan knows that every announced reform will be met by an anti-reform bloc that will play on the social uncertainty and psychological impact of the reported difficulties during the first phase of change. For this reason, one gets the impression that Kucan supports the theory that the reformist core of the League of Communists must act in some sort of alliance with the democratic socialist forces within the nation.

Kucan rejects the assertion that after Kardelj there are practically no Slovenian politicians interested in a Yugoslav career. He bears witness to this by his thesis on transnational support for announced Slovenian reforms which, in his opinion, must be synchronous with changes throughout the federation. In response to the direct question of whether from previous political history it is possible to conclude that the loudest reformers have never emerged victorious in the long run, Kucan responds, "I don't know whether the reformers will emerge victorious, but I do know that this time the reforms will!"

High Living of Politicians Criticized
28000130b Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
31 May 88 pp 20, 21

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "The Gentleman Comrade: While Some Politicians Have Gotten Rich, the People Have Become Impoverished"]

[Text] Milanko Renovica is not a poor man. On the contrary. The former chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee fled the poverty he was born to long ago. They say that today he has a house in his native Sokolac ("encircled by walls and luxury"), a villa, and where would it be but in Neum ("one of the most splendid, with marble tables on the terraces"), and a five-room apartment in Sarajevo. It is also said that he has provided housing for his sons. Whereas one lives "in the elite settlement in Marindvor," in the case of the other the father agreed to leave his five-room apartment and move into a four-room apartment (in the renowned "karingtonka") provided the Bosnia-Hercegovina State Presidency paid the difference (based on floor space) to the enterprise Hydroplants on the Drina (where young Renovica presumably works) as down payment on the apartment of his second son. Thus soon the entire Renovica family will be provided with housing. Is Milanko Renovica one of the richest Yugoslavs? No, he isn't. It is quite certain that he isn't. He probably is not even the best-off Yugoslav politician.

It has been several years now since something of the kind was first whispered about, nothing was written about it in the newspapers. As the lichen of the crisis has spread, so the whispering, the babbling, and the grumbling passed over into public exposure. As though all that silence suppressed over the years was awaiting an occasion to make known what had been deposited and suppressed and hidden over those same years. Under the pressure of this initial publicity and the crisis which is laying waste like a swarm of grasshoppers, even certain leaders—presumably because of the obvious disproportion between the property of most of the people and that of most politicians—have demanded that property be a criterion for official position. The first format was this: Borislav Mikelic, director of Gavrilovic, advanced the idea of honor being a condition for promotion. That same principle was favored by Bogumil Zuecon and Dusan Calic, member of the academy, as well as by General Dusan Pesic. Another general, Drago Rakocevic, demanded at the LCY Congress that a provision be inserted in the LCY Bylaws whereby members of the LC would have to present their property list in connection with every new election or dismissal. But that proposal did not pass, since the judgment was that "it was not proper subject matter for the bylaws." At the end of last year, Bosko Baskot, a holder of the 1941 Commemorative Medal, also demanded the same thing in a meeting of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, and in addition that members of the Republic

Presidency go about Sarajevo in the future (which would mean today) in their own car or by public transportation. (So far not a single one has been seen or recognized in the streetcar.)

The Coupon Clippers of the Revolution

Carried along by the growing crisis and the intensified sensitivity which it has been creating, as well as by the increasing openness to the public (which is spreading into new areas, because political power, showing itself to be incapable of finding a formula for solving the crisis, is losing its legitimacy and so it continues to be pruned back), the idea that the people should know what the people in power possess was muffled for a time and then turned into the "property declaration." At present, only members of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP will have to fill it out. But a proposal of the same kind has also been included in the positions of the Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegrin Conferences of the LC. The floor space of an apartment or house, the opstina where they are located, the model and age of cars and watercraft, art work, legacies, and bank accounts of a potential (or former) official would be entered on that little sheet (or perhaps big sheet, if the list of possessions is lengthy). It is said that the spouse of such a person will also have to fill out such a sheet (be it large or small). It is believed that a watershed will be established in this way between the "honest and dishonest officials."

A normal democratic institution such as monitoring the property of people in power has constantly been scorned on the Yugoslav postwar scene, charged with belief in the building of a new world, as a trick of what is referred to as bourgeois democracy. Considering themselves to be the trustees of history, many leaders, including those at the top, but no less those at a lower level, have had no need whatsoever to justify what they have to the people (and there wasn't anything they didn't have). The people who felt themselves to be the possessors of the truth and those who are bringing happiness to the people, take the position, and it makes psychological sense, that no price can be set on this Promethean gift. That is why many behaved "after the communist fashion"—they took as much as they needed (and indeed even more). Edvard Kardelj wrote to Ivo Lola Ribar about such germs of a new style even in late 1942. Kardelj spoke about the "dangerous beginnings of bureaucracy," about how even at that time the chosen of history "were comfortably building themselves barrack cities in the forests, bringing in electric lights, telephones, radios, typewriters, a large entourage, and various women." Many participants in the National Liberation Struggle testify (more today than yesterday) to the very rapid mutation at that time from revolutionary asceticism to everyday hedonism, with asceticism being boiled and heated up in one pot, and hedonism in another. Of course, not all the leaders of the revolution were the same. Were there not many who shared the fate of ordinary soldiers, simple and honest members of the regiment? But large numbers of them

suffered a moral decline and turned into what might be called the coupon-clippers of the revolution. They put things away, they heated things up, they broke off pieces and set them aside like hamsters, they collected for their ideals. In that race to amass goods many went too far. Having become the political elite and having become conceited, they forgot that they were the children of the revolution and they never would have become children of fortune without the revolution. They took a sponge and erased the past. Having become citizens above the law, they felt they were entitled to everything—from stores open only to diplomats and the political elite, black limousines, and house servants to bear skins from Lika. Although this was known, it was not spoken about in public. Only in the company of people one trusted, in the family circle, with the drapes drawn, and with that mandatory, quiet, so quiet, conspiratorial and muffled voice was there some talk about the high official at that time who had prison inmates working in his garden, and every day a tank truck brought fresh seawater to the swimming pool. Along with the person in question, such stories have now passed over into legend. But the stories are still going around about the airplane which at one time brought fresh tulips all the way from Holland for a nice socialist lady. Now they have been replaced by the fairy tales about Neum.

Flooded with the eruption of hollow promissory notes from Agrokomer and shaken by the avalanche from that volcano, Bosnia shuddered quite a bit. There was a crack in the monolithism of the Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership, previously enforced to an annoying degree. Many things that for years had been carefully wrapped "beneath seven carpets" (things that do not exist in Bosnia-Hercegovina alone) gushed out through the cracks. The postcard of Neum was one such thing. After that, it was simply reproduced and distributed. Thus it was learned that almost the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina elite (and not just Renovica) had their own haciendas in that little town where Bosnia-Hercegovina has an outlet to the sea. It has been alleged that one out of every five inhabitants of Neum is a former or present officeholder. Again there is talk (but now out loud) about "those who have everything," about marble, about the shore that has been fenced off, and the sea that has been appropriated (a well-known, but former leader is alleged to have said that he does not allow passersby to use his sea to swim in). Nothing new to that. Crowned with the halo of being the chosen of history, a large number of our "great heads" think that everything is permitted them. How is one to explain to that puffed-up egomaniac that he has no right to his own sea, to the head of a mouflon, to a box reserved for guests of honor at a soccer match?

The Cracked Monolithism

What people are usually interested in is how these people got the money. A majority of the people have been getting poorer and poorer, and the politicians richer and richer. What some of them have is outright irritating. We have become a poor society with rich individuals. Of

course, the politicians are not the only ones who are "well-heeled" in this country, but it is true that they are "well-heeled." There is a wonderful aphorism which goes that we have the leaders for a much richer country than our own. How have they managed to do it? Simple. Has any one of them ever bought an apartment or a house with his own money? Of course not. And he would have been a fool if he did. They are all driven to and from work. They do not know how people smell and "elbow one another" in the buses and streetcars. What kind of rent do they pay? They have esconced themselves in residential neighborhoods in the most beautiful parts of the city, and there are chauffeurs waiting for them. Their per diems are not high, but they usually go unspent. They can also set aside a goodly portion of their salary. And when you realize that an influential person can always get a cheap loan with interest of a few percentage points for as many years as he likes, that for "our man," whenever he needs, there are also cheap building materials, inexpensive or free machinery (owned, of course, by society, but there is no problem in turning it over to the influential comrade), and cheap manpower (it has been said, and later denied, that recently Montenegrin big shots used the services of prison inmates, certainly below the going wage), then Neum (and others like it) becomes quite possible.

Fuad Muhic recently requested in a meeting of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee that the public be made aware of the property holdings of officials before they take office and after their term of office has expired. Branko Mikulic also took the floor at the same meeting, saying that Muhic's proposal was not at issue, but that first criteria had to be established and explanations furnished as to why this was being done, so as "not to create the impression that we were poor when we took office and rich when we left office." It is true that many were not poor even before they took up their new office. Including Mikulic. Much the same is true of Gojko Ubiparip, a member of the Presidency of SR Bosnia-Hercegovina (along with a number of others not limited to Bosnia), who is also on the list of the chosen who enjoy the sun at Neum. As far as he is concerned, there is "nothing to hide," "but a determination should be made as to why Neum is so important and nothing else is important from Opatija to Kotor." Here it is not just a question. Ubiparip asserts, of the public's normal interest, but of something else, and here the curiosity should be divided according to whether it is based "on good or bad intentions." Whether he is right or not, Ubiparip associates his property holdings (and those of his comrades in Neum) with the political role of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has "always been Yugoslavia's stabilizer."

And for the present it is only the political elite of Bosnia-Hercegovina that is well-off in Yugoslavia!

Zdenek Mlinar, a man who held staff positions for years in the Czechoslovak Government, says in his book "Mraz dolazi iz Kremlja" [The Freezing Weather Comes From the Kremlin] that at one time he was amazed at

where officeholders get so much luxury and wealth. But he says that he soon realized how this is possible. After all, when everything comes with the office, the officeholder is completely secure. He needs only reach out his hand. From having his suits made to traveling abroad. They worry about nothing, and rarely do they pay for anything. That is why there are more and more of them for whom the tales about sacks of dinars and foreign exchange at the Zagreb dump in Jakusevac are a trifle and who do not attribute that pile of money to forgetful bankers or to some senile burekmaker. Although the Secretariat for Internal Affairs is still keeping silent, the story is spreading. And the story goes that only a politician in power for 4 decades could have raked together so much money. Someone who did not have to spend his own dinars for anything. He had what he wanted, they say, so why should he spend his own money. If that is the case, then it was the servant (or someone else) who was confused and unwittingly made a contribution to justice.

An Embittered People

Our gentleman-comrades spend the summer in exclusive summer resorts for very little money, they have their country estates and closed hunting preserves. It would be nice to know how much an apartment in their resorts costs per day. Probably barely enough to drink two or three beers in some fairly decent place. Last year, two members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee—Dusan Ckrebic and Ivan Brigic—even categorically asserted in a conference for foreign newsmen, in answer to a question about privileges, that these tales were exaggerated, that there is more talk about privileges than actually exists. But at about the same time, Dr Slavko Kulic declared that Yugoslavia has about 150,000 official cars and only slightly fewer chauffeurs, that the maintenance costs and chauffeur salaries amount to \$2 billion a year! It is also well-known that the federal housing stock is located in 17 places in the country, that in Belgrade alone there are more than 10,000 units, some bachelor apartments, some fairly large and truly large apartments, some houses; that there are another 2,500 similar dwelling places outside it. And someone is making use of all that. It is well-known that many housing units are empty, that they are occupied by relatives of those who once used them, that many are rented, that the rents are high and paid in foreign exchange, that frequently they pay for neither electricity nor water, but that is not all.

And who has been killing the most highly prized deer and bear in this country? In the Jelen Hunting Preserve alone the value of the big deer [with antlers weighing at least 7 kg] is estimated at 1,375 billion old dinars. How many such trophies stand today without being paid for in the showcases of present and (to a greater extent) former politicians?

Even today the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee (as INTERVJU of Belgrade wrote in one of its recent issues) can enter these closed hunting

preserves, go hunting, and not pay anything. It also recently wrote that they also have the privilege of not having to retire when they qualify for a pension nor do they have any reduction of their salary when they are on sick leave. In addition, the gifts which they present to foreign party delegations are purchased with the money of the LCY Central Committee (presumably membership dues), but those which they receive in spite of the legal provisions (except for those of great value?) they keep! What about the gifts and the goods which they bring home after foreign visits? Are there other "laws" that apply to officeholders than those that are in effect and apply to everyone? Incidentally, this is where diplomatic passports come in.

It would be stupid in any society to require that someone be poor. So why should politicians be poor? But it is nonsense not to have democratic mechanisms for controlling privileges and enrichment in society. After all, if someone accepts a public office, it is quite natural that he must also accept all the requirements which it entails. One of the first of those is that personal property should be known to the public. If this can be done by Mitterand, why can it not be done by Mikulic (of whom they say that he has houses and villas and apartments) or anyone else? This is not some demand from the rabble (as some people would like to portray it), but an altogether normal democratic act, since if there has been exploitation and abuse of position anywhere, then it has been in public office. The absence of democratic traditions, unlimited contributions to the cause of the revolution, and individuals who have suffered a moral downfall resulted in a fetishization of power from which this society will for a very long time bear the bruises (some of which have in the meantime become scars). Monitoring the property of officeholders is not some odious import from "bourgeois democracy" nor some great desire for it. That does, of course, exist, but one could rather say that that desire is a reflection of a poor society that tends in the direction of the egalitarian syndrome in which the difficulties of scarcity are shared equally.

No one believes any longer in the asceticism of officeholders that has been preached. It does not even exist anywhere except in societies amalgamated by ideology. There the politicians have been caught in their own trap: they advocated one thing and did another. By the time the people ceased to believe in them devotedly, it was already poor. Relying on that one principle: "Fend for yourself, comrade," many turned that principle into an ontological foundation of their improprieties. That is how they were able to acquire everything they possess, frequently beyond all measure. But still, it is not exactly certain that there would be demands now for the institution of the property declaration for politicians if we were not where we are, if the country had been governed as it should have been. The way it is, it seems to people that politicians have incomparably more than they deserve.

Which is why the citizenry is embittered. And bitterness is not the only factor in a true democratic public capable

of setting a government and its possible tyranny to rights. Today, it bothers a great many people that Milanko Renovica, for example, is not a poor man, that those in power are not "honest and poor." Those are the dreams of a society of poor people impregnated with the cult of the proletariat and its "revolutionary legislation."

instead of the principles of a state based on law—which would be indifferent to whether someone is Renovica, Mikulic, Stojcevic, Markovic, Ckrebic, Popit, Mojsov...or Huso from Budimlic-Japra.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

New Methods Urged in Military Medical Training

23000111 East Berlin *ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN* in German No 2, 1988 (signed to press 27 Nov 87) pp 117-119

[Article by Col D. Enderlein and Col D. Stremmel: "Training for Military Physicians and Pharmacists"]

[Text] For more than 3 decades, it has been our job to motivate the officer candidate in the Military Medical Section to achieve a great deal throughout his military career. This means not only during the time he is a student, or, under the best of circumstances, while he is undergoing training as a medical specialist, but throughout his entire career as a Socialist officer and a military physician.

Development of an achievement-oriented personality is becoming more important today than ever before, due to the social necessity of upgrading the effectiveness of tertiary education as a means of career preparation.

The development of one's personality is a general, natural, and social prerequisite.

Thus, a close connection exists between military medical education and the analogous processes and requirements of a scientifically productive course of study at a civilian university. Separation of the two in this regard must not be permitted. This requirement was clearly set forth by the national defense minister at the 1986 conference of military academies. It is particularly significant with regard to training in the Military Medical Section.

The experience and results achieved by tertiary education in the GDR should be applied to our military academies in a comprehensive way, always keeping the specific peculiarities brought about by the requirements of the military in mind.

The 14th Conference on Tertiary Pedagogy, held at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University in Greifswald in 1987, was an example of give and take in this regard.

Its topic, the development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility among students engaged in scientific work, had to do with key issues of the problem under discussion here.

Three authors from the Military Medical Section presented papers on the problems encountered in scientifically productive study. The experiences they shared could be considered both valuable and typical. The system of seminars for diploma candidates and doctoral candidates that was brought into being as a pilot study at one institute of the Military Medical Section, was greeted with a great deal of interest and enthusiasm.

The officer candidate in military medicine should be capable, as a result of his studies at the institutes and clinics of the Ernst Moritz Arndt University, and within the Military Medical Section itself, to assume his later responsibilities for the organization of high caliber basic medical care and for the organization of the medical safety of the troops.

That does not mean simply supplying him with the necessary knowledge; rather it entails involving him in the process of education and training.

Thus, the scientifically productive activity involved in such training must meet goals whose emphasis is somewhat different from those of a civilian medical student.

Scientific competition in the Military Medical Section serves to achieve these goals. At present, particular emphasis is placed upon the following:

- the evaluation of prior experience in one's own field,
- the incorporation of experience from other academic areas, particularly at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University, and
- the popularization of scientific competition as one form of scientifically productive study.

Many forms of scientific competition have developed in the Military Medical Section. They take the various prerequisites and the interests of the officer candidates and young scientists into account. These forms include:

- centrally-administered essay contests sponsored by the Military Medical Section that deal with solving significant scientific problems in the field of military medicine,
- scientific conferences and colloquia at the institutes,
- competitions for the best presentation in a seminar, the best demonstration, the best work in the area of practical application, the best thesis for the diploma in the institutes, teaching posts, workshops, or
- specialized competitions and olympiads in the basic disciplines and foreign language training.

The achievement fair of the Military Medical Section and the student conferences at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University are high points in the scientific competition. At these affairs, scores are publicly tabulated, outstanding achievement is granted recognition, exemplary experimental results are published, and new problems are distributed to the groups.

Groups and individuals dealt with selected experimental results at the territorial fairs of the Masters of Tomorrow.

Selected officer candidates and young scientists are presented with specific commissions to attend such achievement fairs and to participate in scientific events by the Commandant of the Military Medical Section.

The Military Medical Section will participate at the 10th Central Achievement Fair for students and young scientists, which takes place in Leipzig in November, 1987, with three scientific projects.

Participation at the fourth Central Scientific Conference of Students and Young Scientists in Medicine and Stomatology at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig, 26-28 March also served as preparation for the 10th Central Achievement Fair. A delegation from our detachment, including eight officer candidates participated. The chairlady of a Young Persons' Research Group headed a discussion panel. An exhibition poster was shown by an officer candidate member of the group.

Scholarly competition is conducted as an integral part of the Socialist competition at the Military Medical Section. A central committee, on which representatives from the student body as well as from the institutes are present, is involved with practical application on a large scale. The Chairperson of this committee is at the same time the Military Medical Section's representative for scientific competition at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University.

If our goal is to continue to perfect the period of study as a productive phase and to extend such modes of thought and behavior, to promote the personal initiative and social responsibility of our officer candidates, and to hone their capabilities to a high level of achievement, then in the days to come, an entire series of questions must be answered, and as yet unsolved problems must be solved.

Among other things, we are thinking here of the tertiary teacher's role in this process with regard to:

—his function as role model as a scientist and educator,

—the constant upgrading of his knowledge and capabilities, both as a pedagogue as well as in his area of specialization, and

—his role as steward of those about to receive their diplomas and doctoral degrees, or, his role as steward of Young Research Groups.

We have become involved in this process. It is part of the agenda of a leader's activity, just as it is part of the Party's basic organizational activities, and those of the trade unions.

The personal model, in the figure of an instructing officer and a military physician is, in the final analysis, a practical orientation regarding the acquisition of a personal style where one's work is concerned, or even in other areas of daily life.

An instructor who has been accepted by the officer candidates with regard to his total personality, need not belabor the practicality or political expediency of what he says every moment, or spread test anxiety, in order to assure the requisite eagerness to learn his subject. He can express expectations that become a moral imperative in the course of study. That is the highest form of motivation.

Through inter-departmental advisory sessions, and here we are thinking of such occasions as the tertiary pedagogical conferences at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University, or the scientific methodological departmental conferences, we learn from others, and have an opportunity to share our own experiences.

Maximum achievement during one's studies has to do not only with the exceptional case, but with all officer candidates. Promotion of the gifted means setting differentiated standards, and a fostering of the officer candidate's individuality. The goal of such a procedure is, in the final analysis, nothing less than selecting the place for each individual which he can accept and fill optimally.

Even though the requirements are identical in the course of study, significant differences exist between the individual candidates. This fact is particularly reflected in the examination grades. Training and educational strategies that are differentiated must lead to a greater degree of attention to the individual officer candidate, and a greater degree of support for him as an individual. For this reason, good, objective prerequisites are currently in place at the Military Medical Section. The officer candidate, or, even better, the applicant for a career as an officer and military physician, must sense, even when he first comes into contact with military medicine, that nothing unusual, peculiar, or audacious is expected of him. Then he will quickly adapt to the routine—as a student, as a young military physician, when he is undergoing specialized training, and in his later activity as a military physician, regardless of where he is posted. To achieve these ends, a certain latitude has to be given, room for development.

In order to do these things, the right form has to be found, one that permits us to solve this massive problem with the limited number of instructor-officers and tertiary school cadre at our disposal. The problem cannot be solved by training in the lecture hall, seminars, and field exercises alone.

Close contact between the officer candidates and their instructors develops in the preparation of scientific papers that are a natural extension of the plans of military medical scientific work; they are evaluated

within that context, and play a role in the acquisition of the diploma, or the class A doctorate. This broad field provides ample opportunity to set up the study in a scientifically productive way, and to be developmentally advantageous.

In the future too, it will be that along the way to the diploma, and while preparing for the class A doctorate, the vast majority of our officer candidates will be scientifically productive. Nevertheless, a number of peculiar factors must be given due consideration.

Approximately 57 percent of the candidates for the diploma are trained by facilities of the Military Medical Section, and approximately 25 percent in medical clinics and institutes at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University. The rest are scattered throughout other facilities and clinics of the National Peoples' Army, or the other security forces of the GDR.

This listing emphasizes that our officer candidates are much stronger than is usually the case at other institutions of higher education, because they are trained as diploma candidates in a decentralized fashion at various facilities. The reason for this is that we go to great lengths to find relevant topics within the framework of military medicine and within the framework of scientifically productive activity. We integrate these topics into the central research of the Medical Corps, in order to provide the officer candidates with practical experience they can draw on later in their careers. Another aspect is provided by the offerings from the Department of Medicine available at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University. Our readiness to work together to look for suitable scientific topics in the area of medicine was greeted enthusiastically.

The fact that there are many opportunities, particularly dealing with problems in the area of basic medical care, or questions of optimizing the diagnosis and treatment of combat injuries, as well as questions of maintaining and improving psycho-physical fitness under extreme conditions, questions of protection against chemical and physical agents, and similar questions, provides proof of the valuable experiences we have had in the training our diploma candidates have received from the clinics and institutes of the Ernst Moritz Arndt University.

Training diploma candidates at various facilities, some of which are far removed from others, involves many organizational problems. Continuity of instruction is often lacking, and the instructional influence and the learning by example that often arise from the close contact between the instructor and the student, does not play the part one would wish, in many instances.

For this reason, we are striving for a greater degree of centralization, that is, preferably, training by the Military Medical Section, the Military Medical Academy, and the Department of Medicine of the Ernst Moritz Arndt University. We are jointly determining the prerequisites.

A second peculiarity has its reasons in the studying process. Due to the fact that the officer candidates in Military Medicine must complete approximately 1000 more hours of training in 6 years than civilian students, the time at their disposal for scientifically productive activity is that much smaller. That makes tighter organization and more exact planning necessary, and its immediate result is greater expense from an administrative point of view.

Previous results have shown, however, that this greater administrative expenditure is not a goal in and of itself. Rather, it has led to the result that research work culminating in the diploma, has been completed in the allotted time, with results that have been good to very good.

Beyond this, on the basis of this form of organization, effective methods have been developed at the Military Medical Section in the meantime to prepare large numbers of diploma candidates for scientific work, to guide them, to monitor their progress, and to put their findings to practical use in a short time.

A method that was developed jointly by the institutes and the Central Office for Military Medical Information and Documentation to prepare more recent diploma candidates for scientific work, has proven to be of great value.

Pursuant to a directive from the Minister of Health that if possible, every physician should hold a doctoral degree, and the resulting order from the Chief of the Medical Corps of the Peoples' National Army to guarantee that this is the case, the result is our third problem.

Our graduates begin serving with the troops immediately. At the earliest they receive further training in a medical specialty 2 years later, or, having been given credit for their 2 years of service, they are assigned to clinical facilities for further training as specialists in general medicine. As a consequence, continual work on the class A doctoral degree is possible only during the last 2 years of service, or not until a hiatus in training in a medical specialty of 2 years' duration has occurred.

For this reason, for several years now, we have tended to give out only such topics for the diploma thesis that have lent themselves well to extension for a dissertation for the class A doctoral degree.

In this way, and with this end in mind, that diploma theses must be defended by the end of the ninth semester, it is possible that more than 50 percent of the 5th and 6th year students are already working on their doctorates, and some are even in a position to defend their dissertations for the class A doctoral degree by the time they finish their studies.

In granting direct recognition to outstanding diploma theses as the equivalent of the class A doctoral degree, there are too many reservations—even in leading the diploma candidates to scientific achievement that would render recognition as the equivalent of a doctorate possible. Our broad-based efforts are aimed at changing this situation.

When the 1986-87 academic year began, a process for graduating with a doctoral degree was reorganized for the officer candidates of the Military Medical Section. Dissertation topics were distributed as early as the beginning of the 2nd year of study. In this way, in conjunction with the teaching facility, placement in a practical learning situation at a facility for medical theory took place following the third semester in such a way that this experience could be used as specific preparation for working on the diploma thesis. It is our goal to be able to guide the officer candidate to collective, interdisciplinary scientific work as early as the 2nd year of his studies in scientific circles, or by issuing Youth Research Topics.

It is thus projected that work on the diploma thesis topic will begin in the 3rd year of study, without any long, introductory phase.

On the whole, in this way, we expect to save more time, which can be put to good use by an earlier beginning on the dissertation leading to a class A doctorate. It is our goal that by the beginning of the 1987-88 academic year, each graduate of the Military Medical Section will have begun work on his dissertation by the time he begins serving with the troops, or, that he will have already defended his dissertation by that time.

A great deal of energy must be expended to combat the idea that a student can only be scientifically productive when he is in possession of a determined amount of knowledge of his subject matter.

A scientifically productive study does not mean achieving world-class results, but it does mean achieving results in the scientific paper in keeping with the goals of training and education, results which will help form young people into scientific personalities, or to cadre who, with the necessary expenditure of time and effort, can be trained and educated.

Since a certain relationship toward military medicine, and thus, to the profession, cannot be gained at the beginning of one's studies, it should be determined to what extent certain specific methodological and technological knowledge, attitudes, and preparation can be formed or expanded in the preliminary year before the study actually commences.

A sensible troop practice is, without a doubt, among these, a practice that should promote the recognition of problems and the development of the proper attitudes.

HUNGARY

German Editorial Examines Prospect of Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Hungary

23000113 Frankfurt/Main *FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG* in German 14 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial by Georg Paul Hefty: "Testing Ground—Hungary"]

[Text] If Grosz is successful where Nagy was not, he is certain to be labeled "nagy" (great) in colloquial Hungarian. For more than four decades the subject of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary was taboo, especially since Nagy's desperate attempt to achieve the removal of these troops, with his declaration of withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and of Hungarian neutrality in November of 1956, was unsuccessful. At the time a young communist named Grosz assumed a position diametrically opposed to that of Nagy. As a party functionary in his home district he even refused to forward the demands of the students of Miskolc for the withdrawal of Soviet troops to the party central office in Budapest. His clear-cut position favoring what he was convinced was the correct side was Grosz' first step on the way toward the office of head of the Hungarian party. Is he anxious that Soviet troops will depart his country and leave the communist regime to its own devices? His predecessor, Kadar, expressed something along these lines a few weeks ago; nothing of the kind has as yet been made public by Grosz.

The stationing of Soviet Armed Forces in Hungary has never been a two-sided affair. When the Soviets occupied the country in the fall of 1944 the objective was to drive out the German troops who had forced the head of state to retreat. The occupation of Hungary by the Red Army, since that time referred to in official terms as the liberation, took place with the approval of the Western allies. The Soviet commander in chief was the chairman of the Allied Control Council. The Magyars had become the playthings of the major powers. The Soviet occupation officially ended with the peace treaty, although troops were expressly allowed to remain—in order to ensure links to the Soviet occupied zone in Austria. On the day before, this purpose, too, became invalid with the Austrian treaty of May 15, 1955, the communist nations on May 14 founded the Warsaw Pact and its High Command which decided to leave the Russian soldiers in Hungary to guard against the "danger of a new war."

Following the bloody defeat of the popular uprising of 1956, the international justification was abandoned—on May 27, 1957 an agreement on the "temporary stationing of Soviet troops" was concluded. The "Russians," as the armed presence in Hungary was generally referred to, did in fact gradually extricate themselves from the internal affairs of the Magyars. They now live in very secluded barracks; on and off duty they appear in public mostly in small groups and within a limited area. Their overall strength is said to be 65,000 men; they are

frequently stationed at important river crossings on the Danube and Theiss rivers. It seems particularly ironic that the first hint of their military activities came about at the same time as their withdrawal plans were being whispered about: At the beginning of March it is said that Soviet soldiers "intervened" in the literal sense of the word in a Rumanian-Hungarian skirmish.

Regardless of whether Gorbachev says anything at the Warsaw Pact Conference beginning on Friday concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, there must be something to it. As recently as March the police broke up a demonstration in Budapest in which isolated banners saying "Russians go home" were seen. On June 27 the Hungarian leadership learned that the citizens of Budapest are again prepared to engage in non-sanctioned demonstrations. It had to do with Transylvania but the highest estimates placed the number of those involved at 100,000 (officially it was 30,000). With the pleas of the party leadership on July 8 and 9 regarding the question of withdrawal, it has become not only a legitimate subject but also a legal one. The party and state leadership of Hungary under Grosz has certainly not run this risk without any assurance that the public would discuss in the broadest possible terms the return home of Soviet soldiers.

Militarily speaking, the Soviet Union would run no risk by leaving Hungary; it would not even be relinquishing any of its options. The troops are not required for internal political reasons. Even if an explosion were imminent in the socio-political laboratory of Hungary, the Soviet units could do nothing useful to stabilize its rule. Withdrawal could, of course, foster false hope in other nations, but the demoralizing effect on the GDR leadership, for example, would be far less than in the case of a troop reduction in Czechoslovakia which has also been talked about. These stakes would even be minimal in view of the success expected in the West. From Bonn to Washington, there is concern that the propaganda value in Europe and America would far exceed that of the crumbled peace movement, spreading to the SPD and the American Congress, even though essentially nothing would change with respect to the ratio of military forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The withdrawal convoy has started; denials and delays are nothing but internal Soviet safeguards and East-West manipulations. Hungary has become a testing ground—apparently they enjoy it.

12552

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Symposium Assesses Technological Impact on Industrial Output

List of Symposium Participants Published
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[Original title for symposium: "Theoretical Requirements and Practical Experiences in Developing Socialist Management Under the Conditions of Large-Scale Application of Advanced Computing and Information Technologies." Opening comments by Prof Dr Eberhard Garbe, Dr of Economics, born 1933, faculty director for Economics Section, "Carl Schorlemmer" Technical College, Leuna-Merseburg, and chairman of the main department for questions related to socialist management. Closing remarks by Prof Helmut Koziolek, Dr of Economics, born 1927, director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, CC SED.]

[Text] A symposium on this subject was organized under the joint auspices of the Scientific Board for Economics Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, its main department for questions related to socialist management, the VEB Kombinat Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht," and the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer" in Merseburg.

The materials published in this issue include the introductory paper by Prof. Eberhard Garbe, chairman of the main department for questions related to socialist management, the concluding remarks by Prof. Helmut Koziolek and a detailed review of the discussion. [The above text was provided in English in the original text.]

In February 1988, the Scientific Board for Economics Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, together with its main department for questions related to socialist management, the VEB Leuna-Werke combine "Walter Ulbricht," and the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer" in Merseburg met to discuss this topic. Under the chairmanship of Prof Dr Dr hc Helmut Koziolek, director of the scientific council for economic research, member of the SED Central Committee, and member of the Academy, above all tasks were discussed and experiences exchanged on how essential effectiveness reserves can be developed, thus contributing to the acceleration of economic growth, through ever wider application of modern computer technology in socialist combine and business administration, and through mastery and acceleration of the entire cycle of intensively expanded reproduction. In accordance with the importance of the subject for further research and economic practice, and in accordance with the objective of the symposium, its preparation and execution was carried out in close cooperation with actual practice, particularly

with the VEB Leuna-Werke combine "Walter Ulbricht," and utilizing the most advanced experiences of other combines and the most diverse sectors of the GDR economy.

The chairman of the main department for questions relating to socialist business management, Prof Dr Eberhard Garbe, gave the introductory paper, based on theses presented and prepared by a scientific collective under the chairmanship of the director of the main department, and by Prof Dr Franz Pleschak. The symposium was enriched by an exchange of experience in the VEB Leuna combine, and by a club dialogue with young scientists on the eve of the symposium at the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer." A fundamental contribution (final remark) was made by the chairman of the Scientific Council for Economic Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences.

Participants in the discussion: Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, full member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the main department for questions of management in industry, deputy director of the Central Institute for Socialist Business Management of the SED Central Committee; Harald Rost, member of the Scientific Council for Economic Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Prof Dr Rudolf Winter, member of the SED Central Committee, general manager of the VEB machine tool combine "Fritz Heckert" in Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Dr Eberhard Ziegler, department head for organization and data processing of the VEB machine tool combine "Fritz Heckert" in Karl-Marx-Stadt; Erwin Schauer, technical director of the VEB chemical installation construction combine Leipzig-Grimma, and Dr Karl Hansel, manager for incoming orders of the VEB chemical installation construction combine Leipzig-Grimma; Claus Friedrich, director for research and development of the VEB shoe combine Weissenfels; Prof Dr Franz Pleschak, deputy chairman of the main department for questions of socialist business management, deputy section director for research of the socialist business administration section of the Dresden Technical University, and Dr Reinhard Mattern, deputy director for organization and data processing of the technical conversion combine "Herbert Wanke" in Erfurt; Prof Dr Hans Joachim Aust, first pro-rector of the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," Leuna-Merseburg, and DR Hans-Guenther Wiegleb, director for cadres and training of the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht;" Prof Dr Lothar Hummel, department head in the Central Institute for Socialist Management of the SED Central Committee; Dr Andreas Lobbes, economics section of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical University, and Dr Thomas Heinig, VEB knitwear combine Karl-Marx-Stadt; Prof Dr Joachim Neumann, socialist management section of the Dresden Technical University, and Dr Hans-Wolf Kretschmar, director of the VEB brilliant combine Dresden; Dr Walter Siegert, member of the Scientific Council for Economics Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, state secretary in the Finance Ministry; Dr Rudolf

Braune, section manager in the VEB "Otto Grotewohl" Boehlen, a combine enterprise in the VEB Petrochemical combine Schwedt; Dr Hartmut May, specialized director of investments of the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht;" Prof Dr Guenter Trepte, economics section of the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," Leuna-Merseburg. Dr Frieder Stein, accounting section chief in the Ministry for Chemical Industry, Hardy Leutholf, accounting chief in the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht," and Hannes Thieme-Schneider, VEB central data processing, chemical industry; Guenter Koschig, technical director of the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht;" Horst Boese, director for research of the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht;" Prof Dr Klaus Muetze, deputy general director for microelectronics of the VEB Carl-Zeiss Jena, and Dr Martin Schilling, same establishment; Prof Dr Dieter Schoenknecht, director of the economics section of the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer."

Written contributions were submitted by: Prof Dr Lothar Bayer, member of the Scientific Council for Economic Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, department head in the Central Institute for Socialist Management of the SED Central Committee; Dr Joerg Braeunig, Central Institute for Socialist Management of the SED Central Committee; Dr Adolf Eser, general manager of the VEB chemical combine Bitterfeld; Dr Gisela Funk, Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," Leuna-Merseburg; Dr Martin Fritz, VEB central data processing, chemical industry; Prof Dr Ursula Gabler, member of the Scientific Council for Economics Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences, economics section of the Friedrich-Schiller University, Jena, and Prof Dr Hans Schmigalla, first pro-rector of the Friedrich-Schiller University, Jena; Dr Ina-Beate Gross, socialist business administration section of Karl-Marx University, Leipzig; Dr Rolf Hauschild, deputy director for procurement and sales of the VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht;" Bernd Jankowski, Engineering College Zittau, and Hans-Juergen Gau, VEB energy combine Rostock; Prof Dr Dr Peter Kohlert, economics section of the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," Leuna-Merseburg; Dr Ines Kolditz, socialist business administration section of the College for Economics "Bruno Leuschner;" Dr Reiner Krannich, general manager of the VEB household appliances combine Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Heinz Felsch, director for organization and data processing of the VEB household appliances combine Karl-Marx-Stadt; Dr Juergen Krueger, Wilhelm-Pieck University, Rostock; Prof Dr Klaus Maetzig, socialist business administration section of the College for Economics "Bruno Leuschner;" Dr Peter Muench, Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer;" Prof Dr Wolfgang Opitz, economics section of the Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig; Babette Simon, Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," institute for socialist management; Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Struebing, director of the Institute for Socialist Business Administration of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; Sylke Sallmon, Central Institute

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Theoretical, Practical Aspects Discussed

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[Article by Eberhard Garbe: "Theoretical and Practical Tasks in the Further Development of Socialist Business Administration in GDR Combines"]

[Text] The combines in the GDR are the major force for mastering the scientific-technical revolution. They have the responsible and ever more complicated task of securing the necessary conditions in order to correspond effectively and permanently to the standards of effectiveness and performance set by economic strategy. A prerequisite for that is a highly developed socialist business administration. It must be based on the premise that it no longer suffices today to concentrate only on one facet or another of economic activity.

Complex economic development takes place within the system of the socialist planned economy of the GDR, for which basic characteristics such as flexibility, responsiveness and disposability must be further evolved. Socialist economics and socialist business administration form an inseparable unit in this.

In the central management and planning of social processes, the socialist state concentrates on expert decisions of basic questions and at the same time promotes the self-responsibility and initiative of combines and enterprises and of those employed there.

The measures for qualifying management, planning and economic accounting are of great importance in this [process]. They open up new possibilities for combines and enterprises to use more effectively the qualitative factors of performance growth, thereby better fulfilling their responsibility for intensively expanded reproduction according to economic standards. Thus application of the principle of self-generation of resources aims at ensuring a high growth rate of national income, attaining and surpassing the plan goals in the development of performance and effectiveness, and making available a high [quantity], distributable end product to supply industry and the population, as well as exports. Based on that principle, a further important phase in raising the effectiveness of society's production is being tackled through 60 complex automation projects in the metal-working industry and 35 projects in other sectors of the economy. The highest standards for the economy have been set for these projects, with the goal being: 1. Increasing work productivity, at least fivefold or sixfold; 2. Implementation of the projects in less than 2 years; 3. Return flow of one-time expenditures in less than 2 and 1/2 years; 4. Savings of 60-70 percent in work places in production; 5. Savings of 20-40 percent in specific material use, and lowering of specific energy consumption; 6. Full utilization of the automated installations at a level of 18-20 hours per calendar day; 7. Lowering processing time for a product from preparation to completion by more than 60 percent.¹

Those are enormous tasks requiring the broad application of key technologies and the creativity of all workers. They are goals objectively set to win the race against time, to maintain and expand the economic position of the GDR.

The use of modern computers opens up new possibilities for the socialist planned economy to better master complicated and growing interlinkage in the highly developed economy through perfecting accounting, and to react faster and more flexibly economically. Thus a uniform computer-aided accounting system was developed, from the State Planning Commission down to the combine, which is already in use.

Socialist business administration in the combines and their enterprises must cope with the new demands of the revolutionary development of productive forces, expressed in the broad application of key technologies. This process has already begun. Business administrators must continue it with force, goal-oriented and with a great sense of responsibility. The tasks in the Central plan of Marxist-Leninist social sciences—12 subject groups concerned with socialist business administration—serve as the guideline. For example, within the framework of a state plan subject, the Technical College "Carl Schorlemmer," Leuna-Merseburg, is responsible for developing and implementing computer-aided software type solutions for combine and enterprise planning in the coming 5-year plan period 1991-95.

The new quality of economic strategy is characterized most clearly by the broad and deep application of key technologies. This includes, above all, microelectronics, modern computers, computer-aided construction, projecting and managing of production, flexible automated production systems, new processing procedures and materials, biotechnology, nuclear energy, and laser technology.

It is undisputed internationally that key technologies offer enormous opportunities for quick renewal of production, increasing its quality, and lowering expenditure to a degree which was impossible and unthinkable up to now.

Significant traits of key technologies are their cross section character and strong influence upon the entire economy. Through them, especially those qualitative factors for further performance growth must be made economically effective for which the 11th SED Party Congress has set new standards. They are technologies which lastingly influence the economy and society as a whole, promote economic structural change, and considerably increase work productivity.²

To be stressed in particular are the impulses produced by key technologies. They provide impetus for the further development of science and production. At the same time, a growing interlinkage of science disciplines and of production sectors is taking place, as well as taking into account customer requirements. This affects the quality of technology development and also the quality of the products manufactured on its basis. This development is an expression of the productivity effect and, lastly, of the influence of these key technologies on the dynamics of the development of productive strength.

Together with the processes of refining, particularly in the metal and chemical industries, in agriculture and other sectors with high energy consumption, this points up the significant qualitative changes in GDR industry. In the final analysis, it is the field of industry where, depending on the growth of work productivity, decisions are made on the cumulative power of the country and on the degree of satisfying needs.

The application of key technologies fundamentally changes the position of the worker in the work process. It is well known that Karl Marx said that the "societal way of operating" is radically changed as a result of "the change of production means."³ This radical change—today the equivalent of implementing key technologies—has economic consequences on the economic as well as the factory level, which must be studied from a political-economic, economic and business management aspect.

The development of productive forces always takes place in a dialectic reciprocal effect with the socialist production conditions in the real reproduction process of the

transition to a new quality of growth, a type of intensively expanded reproduction saving material, funds, and resources. This new quality of reproduction is based on the revolutionary change of productive forces and simultaneous demands that socialist production conditions be constantly reproduced at a qualitatively higher level. From this arises the need that the new standards in the struggle for scientific-technical top performances must be made masterable in ever greater breadth. The theoretical and practical questions entailed in the development of the reproduction process and in perfecting management in the combines are the subject of business administration research. Socialist business administration with its own organizational set-up, its tools and working methods must be adapted to the development of technology and actively promote the latter.

It is the intent of the theses presented here to sketch a complex of issues which are closely related to the orientations by H. Koziolek.⁴ The development of business administration in combines and enterprises must go hand in hand with the further development of productive forces with the goal of attaining a great increase in effectiveness for the good of the people. This requires a much greater extent of economic evaluations. It concerns optimum solutions in all phases and areas of the reproduction process and greatest economic effectiveness, which includes the finding, justification and implementation of the most effective variant under given circumstances.

Modern computer technology offers new possibilities of increasing effectiveness, because frequently truly complex computations can only be carried out on that basis. The scientific-technical development leads to a greater dynamism of the technical and economic processes in combines and their enterprises. The result is that effectiveness and flexibility of the reproduction process are fusing together ever more closely.

Today and in the future, flexibility includes the capability of every combine—to produce its own scientific-technical top performances, to react quickly to scientific-technical findings and rapidly make them effective in production—to respond ever better to user requirements in the process of short-term renewal of production, and to satisfy specific customer wishes (as far as economically justifiable).⁵

In the future, the science-technology-production-sales cycle will be carried out less as a time sequence of its individual phases, but rather in the form of overlapping, which is due to the fact that increasingly, processes and activities occur simultaneously. These are totally altered conditions to which business administration must be adapted with proven and also with new, computer-aided tools. This includes the necessity—of adapting in advance to dynamic changes in demand and the market situation—of observing, and possibly even surpassing, internationally customary order and delivery periods in order to fully correspond to trade and delivery terms

customary in this line of business—of accelerating the reproduction process overall, and decisively shortening the cycles from research and development to sales, from orders received to delivery of the goods, from preparation of an investment to starting up operation and regaining the funds, etc.⁶

Important reserves for increasing effectiveness and accelerating the reproduction process lie in the organization of production, cooperation and material supplies. It is particularly important to stress this as a focal point because the economically necessary shortening of order and delivery periods shows that in many enterprises, not enough importance is placed on the required preconditions, particularly in technology and production organization.

A further problem is concealed behind the necessary adaptation of the processes of transportation, handling and storage to the changed production and sales conditions. What is needed is a more effective material flow with the lowest possible inventories and low circulating capital. This concerns tasks which are classified in computer-aided business administration under the concept of logistics.

International analyses indicate that a workpiece is worked directly only during approximately 10 percent of the production time. The rest of the time is accounted for by transportation, handling and storage processes.

A typical phenomenon in all modern industrial countries is a broad range of products characterized by new uses, high quality and effectiveness. Whoever reaches the market first, not only achieves extra profits but can also conquer important international positions. A later appearance on the international market results in a deterioration of the ratio between expenditure and result. Market positions cannot be secured by price concessions.

From this correlation it derives compellingly that a noticeable lowering of costs and thus increase in profits, much more so than in the past, must become the focal point of socialist business administration. Indeed, it is not only a matter of increasing the number of computer work places, but rather, it concerns productivity and effectiveness. This requires that the flexibility of the entire reproduction process of a combine is secured by a computer-aided business administration.

Frequently one can still hear opinions according to which flexible automation and automated data processing lead automatically to high economic results. This must be firmly contradicted. Rather, the automation technology considerably increases the possibilities for subjective influences. This happens, on the one hand, because the creative share in work, particularly in the departments preparing production, grows and thus increases the degree of effect of human labor. On the

other hand, the direct influence of man on the availability of installations grows and enhances his capacity to quickly deal with disruptions, to secure quality, and lastly, to master the entire modern reproduction process.

The mobility and disposability of society's labor force increase. Ever more workers must be gained for new tasks. For the manager this means constant political work for motivation, raising work awareness, removing reservations vis-a-vis the new technology, and adapting coworkers to changed concrete work contents and work requirements.

One must agree completely with H. Nick when he characterizes the automated factory as a progressive automation of work in all areas of factory activity. By comparison, the traditional factory is an "industrial island" in the form of highly automated working and processing procedures, while the final assembly processes, additional auxiliary processes, production-preparing processes and the processes of management and planning are relatively less automated.

The most important basis for over-all automation is the formation of a progressively automated "nervous system" of the reproduction process in the form of an informational infrastructure, a computer system.⁷

In many combines the formation of such a system is already in full swing today. The economic generalization of these developments is of the highest importance, theoretically and practically. It is above all a matter of qualitative changes in the reproduction process, brought about by the fact that the science-technology-production-sales cycle can actually increasingly be closed on a modern technical basis. From a business administration aspect, there arise a number of questions.

First: How can the further development of socialist business administration be derived from the development of productive force? The computer today is no longer only a general auxiliary aid; its use presents a significant productive force, tightly linked in automated processes to the main productive force, man. Probably the most far-reaching changes for man's work result from the effective learning and efficient use of software. The development of software is of great economic importance, and a rapidly rising number of workers are being included in acquiring the skill.

One can assume that by 1990, over half a million workers in the GDR will be working with computer screens, and thus on the basis of programs.

The new demands on man's creative forces lie in prognostic analysis and development of processes as well as the development of programs, i.e., in the intellectual anticipation of future processes and transformation of

these findings into functioning software directly guiding these processes. With this software man introduces his knowledge and his will into the course of automated processes.⁸

To reiterate clearly: All business administration problems and tasks as well as phenomena are processes caused by man, moving man, ruled by man, and serving man. Thus in socialist business administration teaching, a discipline of sociology, there exist no mere factual problems.

For this reason, in future business administration research must ensure better that all studies include human behavior and the effects on man; because simultaneously with the implementation of economic goals, the enterprise is a decisive field for the materialization of fundamental needs of man.

This requires that working man must always be seen in his complex personality in socialist business administration. From that result three tasks, namely 1. Closer research into manpower as a resource; this includes the business administration tasks of education, training and qualification of man for the formation of his physiological and intellectual capabilities and skills; 2. Uncovering ways to utilize the manpower resource in an economically effective manner, in accordance with socialist values; 3. Deeper research into the economic and non-economic needs to be satisfied in the enterprise as a component of the socialist way of life with its effects on the economic, social and ecological effectiveness of socialist enterprises.

With regard to their knowledge and know-how, ever more production workers are approaching the qualification of technical engineering personnel. Predominantly physical work is combined with growing mental demands, while in the case of predominantly intellectual work, modern technology is used more strongly. This leads to a gradual overcoming of socio-economic differences which result, on the one hand, from predominantly intellectual work and from predominantly physical labor, on the other hand.

Thus socialist enterprises also have the task to balance the development of work places and the qualification structure, and to develop working conditions in such a way as to create ever better preconditions for the self-realization of employees at work.

Second: Which demands and development tendencies must be noted resulting from data and automation technology for business administration or the enterprise organization, respectively?

If one analyses the economic effectiveness of the CAD/CAM technology, one can note first of all that in 1987, about 31,000 of these stations were in use and that their number is growing further. By 1990, 85,000 to 90,000 CAD/CAM stations are to be in use. Research and

development, production and sales become a uniformly computer-aided process whose criterion consists of a flexible response to rapidly changing user needs with high manufacturing productivity.

The further introduction of flexible automated production and the preparation of steps leading to the automated factory, decided by the 11th SED Party Congress, are of fundamental significance. But it must not be overlooked that the application of key technologies is connected with great expenditures. In 1988, the enormous sum of 13.5 billion Marks is being spent on research and development. The plan for 1987 also provided for 13 billion Marks. In 1988, 3.4 billion Marks come directly from the national budget. The remaining amount is earned by the combines and their enterprises themselves. In total, the financial expenditures for science and technology represent approximately 5 percent of the GDR's national income.⁹ These enormous sums must be used economically. Despite outstanding examples, the economic use is not yet satisfactory overall.

A special focal point of raising effectiveness is the more efficient work development in the production-preparing area. Since construction and project planning determine about 70 percent of the manufacturing costs of a product, and 95 percent of the assembly costs, this is a focal point of the CAD/CAM technology.

The effects of the CAD/CAM technology are particularly evident in the development and production of micro-electronic components. Without computer-aided work, miniaturization and storage density of modern electronic components would be unthinkable. A transistor today consists of about 50 individual parts. With 4,000 transistors on one chip, about 200,000 individual elements must be accommodated. Appropriate placement of such a large number of elements on a minuscule area is only possible with the aid of a computer.

Since CAD/CAM covers development and construction, production and quality control and, lastly, even customer service, it is objectively necessary that construction, planning, production and sales grow into one system. This growing together is a business administration task of high priority. Preparation and application of CAD/CAM solutions do not only comprise questions of production technology, the computers to be used and the appropriate software, but also the entire business administration and business organization. From it result consequences for the management and organization of the entire enterprise and combine, for the shaping of the voucher system, the security and precision, respectively, of the data base, accounting and many other concrete questions of management. Preliminary scientific work must be created and cadres adapted to it, and business organization must be carefully changed over to the new requirements. These are cardinal issues with whose solutions we are faced and which economic scientists must solve jointly with socialist practice.

The introduction of CAD/CAM—and key technologies in general—is not only a technical-organizational measure. It is a far-reaching process during the course of which the entire work in the reproduction cycle is fundamentally changed.

It is characteristic of key technologies that they have a complex and very broad effect. For example, particularly in the centers of the metal-working industry, productivity increases of between 300 and 700 percent were achieved through flexible automated production systems.

These flexible automated production systems are of particular importance because they are connected with several key technologies. In fact, several key technologies are applied: Modern computerization, automated construction, preparation and guidance of production (i.e., CAD/CAM), as well as industrial robot technology with productive, numerically controlled machines form a single unit.

In this complex automated process—whose scientific bases are constantly developed further—ever fewer partial processes require direct control by human labor, so that the concepts of low-service, service-free, and finally unmanned production were coined. Increasingly, transportation, handling and storage processes are also included by linking automatically guided storage and transport systems to the production pace. Among other things, in recent years automatic production sections were created for direct dc converters, hydraulic products, sewing machine stop motors, and for dynamically balanced components.

Revolutionizing changes were also necessary in the area of business organization. One must not overlook here that for many years, business organization had been neglected, both as a teaching subject and in its practical application.

Business organization presents itself as a control system for all processes and courses taking place in an enterprise. Hereby one must differentiate between material, informational, and managerial processes. The informational processes carry out a significant mediator and control function.

In this, business administration has the extraordinarily important task of analyzing and making objective the informational requirements of managers and structural units. A fundamental problem is that information preparation and availability must be done with a view towards decision-making.

Business administration and organization must also pay sufficient attention to the specifics of the various branches of industry and the national economy, respectively. For example, in addition to generally valid findings, differences between the state and development of business administration and organization must be noted

in the industries forming, transforming and processing materials. But paying attention to differences also means, above all, to creatively generalize certain findings from technologically very different branches:

The chemical industry already had a high degree of automation in which programmed processes take place whereby the workers are in charge of very responsible measurement, control and steering functions. Individual industrial truck drivers, for example in the Leuna combine, today are responsible for installation systems worth millions. These are processes and actions totally different from those in the metal-working industry or heavy machine-building or installation construction industries, respectively; in their case, compared to the material-changing industry, entirely different CAD systems must be developed and applied.

But economic requirements such as a significant increase in work productivity, increased effectiveness of economic activity, faster response to developing needs and the demand and market situation apply to all industrial combines equally. Furthermore, it is a matter of high [quantity] processing of raw materials and materials of limited availability. From this aspect, the flexible automated production systems in the metal-working industry are quite comparable to flexible multi-product installations in chemical enterprises, which must satisfy the growing demand for low-tonnage products.

Business administration must supportively influence such processes, and must help to secure their organization and economy. It is becoming ever more imperative that chemists and engineers are also economists and that, in turn, business administrators also possess engineering-economic knowledge and skills. These requirements must be taken into greater account in the educational process.

The development of such flexible automated systems poses considerable challenges to the business administrator.

The manufacture of different substance-related chemical products in a multi-product installation poses a number of problems not only from the aspect of technical procedure, but also puts business administration into completely new situations. These are some of them:

—According to the principle of decline in size, as a rule mass production has a higher economic yield. A yield at least as high must now be secured for low-tonnage products. Hereby it is absolutely essential that useful value and costs are optimized. Complex optimizing computations are needed to make solid decisions.

—Closely linked [to these problems] are questions of a change in range of products and the working capital economy. There is the question, for instance, to what

extent it is economically more favorable to select larger batches, reduce the number of changes in product range, and thus in fact working toward storage production.

The entire process, from accepting and processing incoming orders to the production system, storage and efficient shipping, must be rethought from a business administration aspect and made highly effective through the use of modern computers.

Third: How must the methods and tools of socialist business administration be further developed in connection with perfecting planning and economic accounting?

It holds true for the business administrator that in intensification, it always concerns the overall economic result in relation to total expenditure of resources, i.e., an increase in effectiveness. In terms of business administration, intensification finds its expression in production growth; in the faster turnover of the product mix through products newly and further developed and more highly processed; in rapid scientific-technical progress, and in lowering specific prime costs both through better utilization of the constant share of expenses and directly through absolute resource savings.

This development is linked to business administrators themselves making varied and goal-oriented use of modern methods, particularly computers, in the office or directly at the work place, respectively. A particular focal point is also long-proven methods which can be adapted to new requirements, or which can be applied more effectively through the use of modern computers. Examples for that are the use value-cost analysis, process analyses, and informative preliminary and ex post facto costing.

These tools, like many others, serve to imbue the scientific-technical development process with economics.

A computer-aided business administration must in no case relinquish the classic elements of cost-benefit thinking. Proven tools, such as accounting of cost units, cost categories, and cost centers, do not become superfluous, but must be raised to a higher level.

The effective combination of proven business administration methods with computer-aided work requires perfecting the economic processes in a plant with regard to its data and data structures, to prepare them for computer-aided processing, and to establish the cutting lines in such a manner that a logical integration into the overall enterprise system is ensured.

It is noticeable that revolutionizing changes in business planning, business accounting and business management are being introduced on this new technical basis. In it, forms of decentralized collection, storage and processing of data, and the conversational mode will become of the greatest importance.

In addition to creating the overall concept, the development toward uniform computer-aided work in socialist business administration includes the task of better penetrating scientifically all partial areas of business administration (production preparation, production implementation, sales, management of materials, fixed asset management, management, planning, accounting, analysis and control, etc.) in order to be able to create the preconditions for algorithmic systems and programming, as well as preparing software. Only on this basis is it possible to utilize the information system in business administration and to create from modules appropriate systems solutions for the entire reproduction process in dependence on reproduction conditions.

Research works of business administration must deal more intensively with the further development—or with the new development, if necessary—of the business administration accounting system under conditions of utilizing microprocessors, on-line systems with data banks, and an extensive, information data processing system applied in a decentralized manner. That is the precondition for developing accounting from a *ex post facto* registrar of business administration processes into an active tool of business decision-making with extensive real-time processing of the information received. This tool has a system-building effect on business administration overall.

The further development of business planning is based on a clear characterization of specific economic interests on various levels of the enterprise and combine, including the development of socialist democracy in the enterprise.

In general, research and socialist business administration teaching has the task of going from the description of conditions, at present still widely prevailing, to research and presentation of the dynamics of business processes. This is to enhance the share of what is stable, permanent, and generally valid in its scientific information, so that socialist business administration teaching attains a more enduring and wider effectiveness in practical life. It is a further concern to increase the logical unity and complexity of business administration information in order to achieve greater applicability and effectiveness of theoretical findings. This holds especially true for the preparation of a new edition of the college textbook on socialist business administration as well as the handbooks and monographs accompanying the textbook.¹⁰

There is a lively discussion whether in future economists will be needed in combines and enterprises who are trained both in socialist business administration and in engineering economics. In the last analysis, this question can only be decided correctly if it is based on a solid prognosis of the development of combines and enterprises.

The focus on engineering economists who must be in a position to analyze and properly judge the material processes into whose economy they penetrate, also has the approval of the Scientific Council for Questions of Socialist Business Administration. It is certain that the engineering economist will be the future business administrator in modern industrial enterprises doing much computer-aided work. Accordingly, the cadre need will primarily develop in this direction.

Footnotes

1. See G. Mittag, "Die Arbeit der Partei zur Verwirklichung der vom XI. Parteitag der SED beschlossenen ökonomischen Strategie" [The Work of the Party for the Realization of the Economic Strategy Decided Upon by the 11th SED Party Congress], Dietz publishing company, East Berlin 1987, p 72.
2. See "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [Report by the SED Central Committee to the 11th SED Party Congress], reporter: E. Honecker, Dietz publishing company, East Berlin 1986, p 49ff.
3. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" [Works], Dietz publishing company, Vol 23, p 496.
4. H. Kozolek, "Betriebswirtschaft im System unserer sozialistischen Planwirtschaft" [Business Administration in the System of Our Socialist Planned Economy], EINHEIT, Vol 12/1987, p 1077ff.
5. G. Friedrich, "Theoretische und praktische Fragen der weiteren Qualifizierung der Leitung in den Kombinaten unter den Bedingungen umfassender Intensivierung" [Theoretical and Practical Questions of Further Qualification of Management in the Combines under the Conditions of Comprehensive Intensification], ABHANDLUNGEN DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN DER DDR. VEROEFFENTLICHUNGEN DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN RAETE, Vol 4/1987, p 19ff.
6. Ibid.
7. See H. Nick, "Wissenschaftlich-technische Revolution und die Herausbildung einer neuen 'gesellschaftlichen Betriebsweise'" [Scientific-technical Revolution and the Development of a New 'Societal Business Management'], in "Studien-Forschungsberichte-Kolloquien" [Studies-Research Reports-Colloquia], GDR Academy of Sciences, ZENTRALINSTITUT FUER WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTEN, Vol 1/1987, p 124ff.
8. See W. Marschall/K. Steinitz/P. Straehmel, "Oekonomische Fragen und Aufgaben der volkswirtschaftlichen Verwertung von Schluesseltechnologien-reproduktions-theoretische Aspekte" [Economic Questions and Tasks of the Economic Utilization of Key Technologies-Theoretical Reproduction Aspects], ibid., p 1ff.

9. K. Morgenstern, "Milliardenetat fuer die Forschung" [A Budget of Billions for Research], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26 Jan 1988, p 3.

10. See authors' collective, "Sozialistische Betriebswirtschafts-Industrie" [Socialist Business Administration-Industry] (college textbook), publishing company Die Wirtschaft, East Berlin 1986; manuscripts for the revised edition of: authors' collective, "Die Oekonomie der betrieblichen Forschung und Entwicklung" [The Economics of Business Research and Development] (handbook); authors' collective, "Absatzwirtschaft der Kombinate und Betriebe" [Sales Economy of Combines and Enterprises]; K Matterne/S Tannhaeuser, "Die Grundmittelwirtschaft in der sozialistischen Industrie der DDR" [The Economy of Fixed Assets in the GDR Socialist Industry]; E. Garbe/D. Graichen, "Oekonomische Materialverwendung" [Economic Use of Material]. These monographs, handbooks and textbooks, respectively, published by Die Wirtschaft publishing company, are being further developed under the influence of the Scientific Council for Questions of Socialist Business Administration.

Chairman Delivers Concluding Address
23000108 East Berlin
WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German
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pp 815-821

[Article by Helmut Koziolek: "Focal Points of Organizing Computer-Aided Socialist Business Administration." Concluding remarks by the Chairman of the Scientific Council]

[Text] Combining the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism is moving further into the center of implementation of our plan. We are hard at work to rapidly expand our own production in the area of key technologies, both quantitatively and qualitatively.¹ In this way we struggle for increased effectiveness and contribute to keeping pace with the brisk development tempo of modern productive forces by international standards.

As Erich Honecker again expressed at the consultation of the Central Committee with the first kreis secretaries, the continuing change of the economic structure and processes in the GDR today is determined more and more by modern key technologies. Our economic development is carried in ever greater measure by their production and application, which the SED evaluates as new quality of growth. Naturally, this is a longer-term process affecting the entire depth of our economy, from which results demanding standards for the scientific-technical level of products and technologies and thus for management and planning, and for all work at all levels.²

The results of this council symposium must also be assessed in this sense. They reflect the theoretical and conceptual work of the council and the increased turn to

socialist practice, particularly to combines and enterprises. They are results which were developed as a consequence of ever closer interdisciplinary cooperation between business administration experts and representatives of other scientific disciplines of the academies, colleges and the scientific establishments of industry.

The struggle for higher work productivity is the means and precondition for social effects, for a progressive change of people's standard of living. To attain increased work productivity in new dimensions, combined with high effectiveness, is decisive for ensuring a continuous, dynamic performance increase, which is needed for further improvement of people's material and cultural standards of living on the basis of a strong and stable economic growth.

A very effective tool has been created for the planned and foresighted development of production, taking into account all economic and social factors, which is being further developed for perfecting management, planning and scientific accounting.³ For this reason, the forming of socialist business administration in connection with the application of modern computer systems and flexible automation as the determining factor of technology and organization, and thus for the economy of work, is steadily gaining in importance. Therefore, continued work in developing a computer-aided business administration is focusing particularly on the following aspects:

First: Even today, the development of productive power resulting from key technologies proves to be an important factor for the development of combines and enterprises. This development of productive power requires a higher level of socialization of production, and thus the development of a new social operating method which corresponds to our social order. Since this operating method is developing in combines and enterprises at different speeds and substantive implementation steps, there will always exist side by side different levels of computer use, automation, and thus operating method in a combine or enterprise. Overall, however, this development in combination with computer-aided production preparation and implementation, management and planning, will step by step lead to ever more automated enterprises. From the growing integration of partial business administration processes, from each of these steps results again a great effectiveness potential in order to better master and accelerate the entire cycle of intensively expanded reproduction in combines and enterprises in all its phases. This increasing compactness of the cycles in combines of necessity also bring about great changes in business administration.

Second: The development toward automation and computer-aided business administration is characterized by the following basic tendencies:

—Management, performance and information processes, through gradual integration of scientific-technical, economic and information technology processes, are tied ever more closely into a compact, computer-aided system.

—Flexibility in the entire reproduction process is growing steadily. This results in new demands being placed on production preparation and material securing of production. There must be uniform accounting for cooperation chains, and delivery in good time and of proper quality must be ensured in all steps.

—Unified computer use requires that organization, hardware and software, including interfacings, be systematized, newly classified and standardized.

—Ensuring the quality of a product will be integrated into production preparation and production, and not subsequently secured through control and extra work.

All plans for an automated enterprise take these basic directions into account. They are based on linking together, most efficiently and computer-aided, product development, constructive and technological production preparation, manufacture, economy of materials, and sales. This makes it possible to implement the steps of the reproduction process computer-aided and increasingly parallel, to link them on the basis of a uniform and always up-to-date data base. The concern is to make the course of the reproduction process more precise, faster, and more secure.

Third: Adjusting workers to the new demands, raising their qualifications, disposability and mobility together with ever better working and living conditions is an all-decisive precondition. The social component of socialist business administration gains increasing importance through computer use. For this reason, work relations and work content must be developed in such a way that the creative capabilities of our comprehensively educated people are challenged and fully utilized. A basic experience from cooperation between the Central Institute for Socialist Business Management and combines is that modern information technologies do not lessen demands on people and their possibilities of influencing the effectiveness of the reproduction process, but rather increase them. Therefore, the reciprocal relationship between man and technology must always be viewed from the standpoint of the development of productive forces. Automation is used in the interest of increasing work productivity and thus, in the last analysis, in the interest of developing man as a personality and as a productive force.

Experience shows that preparing cadres for computer-aided business administration includes development of knowledge and skills as well as behavioral traits such as order, discipline, a high degree of self-responsibility and the necessary knowledge of business administration effects. That raises the demand for qualification in the work process. But thinking in terms of overlapping functions and rapid, process-relevant responses are also objective needs. This requires motivation which encompasses the whole breadth of changes in work content and working conditions, in work organization and the altered structure of management and collectives.

Fourth: The computer assistance of business administration processes requires a solid technical base. This solid starting position was created with a sophisticated range of integrated switching circuits; by starting the serial production of the 256K-byte memory with its own 16 and 32 byte computers; with approximately 44,000 CAD/CAM work stations and first solutions for flexible automated production sectors. Now it is a matter of penetrating more rapidly the breadth of the economy every year, and to fully utilize the economic possibilities.⁴ The linkage of computer-aided business administration and automation creates the condition for the full utilization of these economic possibilities. Technological inflexibility and consecutive working of individual process steps of work preparation and execution are being replaced by increasing flexibility and parallelism. Computer work and its resulting technological changes are ever better used to produce quality in the process, to minimize inventories and thus costs through a constant material flow, and to keep additional costs from even arising.

Such cost reductions of new dimensions require above all a precise economic project, in addition to the step-by-step integration of CAD, CAM and PPS into a uniform process chain toward CIM. On this foundation, every phase of automation must be brought to an economic result which ensures continuation of the automation process at the next level. Attention must be paid, however, to the differences resulting in automation from the specifics of interrupted production processes (for example, in the sector of metal-working industry) and continuous processes of material transformation (which are typical in the chemical industry, for instance). What are the differences?

CAD/CAM in interrupted production processes—that means computer-aided construction, projecting and designs, i.e., processing geometric data; it means real-time processing of great amounts of data for production control. Flexibility can be attained primarily through modular product structure and a flexible assignment of the technological base to individual process steps, i.e., through flexible automation.

CAD/CAM in material-transforming processes—that means computer-aided synthesis, analysis, product and procedure simulation, and process control over several procedure steps and longer periods of time; it means the superimposition of different data structures, thus making a clear-cut mathematical description of the technological process more difficult. Flexibility in this case is created through multi-product installations with procedure-technical modules which can be operated according to different technological parameters.

Therefore, attention must always be paid in business administration processes to the differences due to technology. The economic demands are the same. Software type solutions by business administration are needed everywhere. But more attention must be given to the process-specific adaptation.

Fifth: Economic and business administration criteria increasingly determine the technology to be applied and the time sequence of the individual implementation steps. In the last analysis, it concerns securing the highest possible yield from applying what is new. Clear economic objectives must be preset. In concrete terms, it concerns an integral view of technical, economic and social effects as a precondition for deploying, with every phase of implementing an automation solution, the characteristic traits of an automated enterprise also increasingly from business administration aspects. In the enterprise, the most intensive interlinking of technical, economic and social processes takes place. Here, at the site of material production, the transition to a computer-aided business administration resting on a uniform database with overlapping functions first occurs. Here, also, the economic, social and organizational effects become most clearly visible. Such effects are:

—The largely still existing enterprise organization, oriented toward specific functions and a consecutive product run-through, must be replaced by a product-related and process-related organization. Production not related to orders is increasingly being replaced by production tied to orders. This development is growing further with increased production of small series, while mass production, for example of standard parts, is not greatly influenced so far.

—A management organization must be created which corresponds to the computer levels in the enterprise, promotes integration of work processes that had been separate up to now, and reduces management levels.

—The production organization is increasingly determined by the demands resulting from a constant material flow without intermittent storage and waiting periods. That requires constructions that are adapted and assembly-supportive, which can lead to a totally new construction of products and serious technological changes. In this way, business administration demands have a direct effect on the renewal process of products and on technology.

—A product and process-related operational organization in an automated enterprise requires a failure strategy not only for technical, but also for business administration processes. This failure strategy in turn is computer-aided. For its preparation in particular, the foresighted and creative thinking of workers is needed. This also points up the qualitatively new demands placed on human activity.

Sixth: Computer-aided operational and machine data recordings form the foundation for an ever more precise information base. The total of available information, consisting primarily of real-time recordings, must give the manager a constantly up-to-date and complete overview of the comparison between plan targets and actual figures, the expenditure of working time, energy and

material, and the cost picture. The effectiveness potential of computer-aided business administration results particularly from the integration of information from various levels: order-related product run-through, order-related technical-technological production preparation, and process-related completion of auxiliary and side processes (such as maintenance and building of supplementary instruments of production). This integration requires local networks for process automation as well as office communication, which must be built up according to the specific requirements of the enterprise.

Seventh: Computer-aided socialist business administration results from computer use and the perfecting of proven business administration methods in combination with new solutions. Such solutions are needed, for example, for the economic assessment of the quantitative and qualitative effects of automation and computer use. It is also a goal of computer-aided business administration to make optimum choices according to preset priorities between different demands, such as shortest processing times, low fixed assets, highest flexibility. This requires selection and evaluation of variants, the application of mathematical-economic methods, and above all, the treatment of tasks with several goals. But for this, also, business administration methods such as accounting of cost units, cost categories, cost centers, and preliminary and ex post facto costing gain in importance. They gain greater informational value due to computer use. This makes it possible to recognize weak spots earlier and to make decisions on a better economic basis.

The entire reproduction process can be penetrated economically, from securing an effective material flow to recognizing standstills. It requires precise and synchronous cost assignment to the product and place of manufacture. This economic penetration of the entire cycle is the key to increased effectiveness and productivity. Automation and computer support offer enormous possibilities for lowering costs, but only in combination with business administration. Naturally, such costs cannot be included belatedly in an automation project. Rather, it is necessary to work out for any automation project a preliminary calculation of costs with fixed amounts of expenditures—thus an economic project—which can be controlled and adhered to.

After the stable start-up of the project, ex post facto calculation of costs is then the decisive control tool to establish what result had actually been obtained. Precise cost assessment and assignment of the entire preparation and implementation process of an automation project or product transition is a prerequisite for a computer-aided ex post facto calculation of costs which leads to informative results as a condition for necessary technological and organizational changes.

Eighth: Logistical principles in technology and business administration must be integrated to a greater degree. Process analyses of the Central Institute for Socialist Business Management show that in many enterprises,

insufficient information, insular thinking, excessive distribution of responsibilities, a lack of delivery reliability, and a wrong inventory policy have become obstacles to a stable performance growth. Inventories are used to cover up mistakes, conceal failure-prone processes and circumvent disproportions in fixed assets. The only correct way to counteract that is to increasingly apply logistical principles in technology and business administration. This means recording in the entire production process up-to-date enterprise data, related to products and processes, as a starting point for lowering production times, for contractual deliveries and continuous material flow with lowest inventories. Thus step by step conditions must be created to provide for different production times for various orders with continuous material flow, and to respond flexibly within the plan and the funds drawn up in the balance sheet.

Ninth: The quality and level of software increasingly determines the economic result. From a business administration aspect, software type solutions are in the foreground for the development, accounting and control of the complex plan and its plan components, for production planning and guidance, as well as budgeting and cost assessment. Such software type solutions form the basis for uniform systems of planning and accounting, as they are effectively applied today in first instances in the accounting systems of the chemical and metallurgical industries. This requires the rapid development of modules, appropriate to the entire system, for partial business administration processes and to make them available to combines and enterprises for process-specific adaptation. An organized multiple use is necessary in order to apply these software type solutions rapidly and broadly in the economy.

Tenth: The linkage of performance, management and information processes require a managerial information system for the integration of partial business administration processes and their informational interlocking; this includes management workplaces for the most diverse work levels up to that of the general director. The software type solutions, for example for planning and plan preparation, must therefore be implemented in computer-aided workplaces in order to bring about in the managerial information system the necessary linkage of planning, drawing up of balance sheets, economic accounting and implementation control with process management.

The yardstick for perfecting socialist business administration through computer support can only be the effect achieved with regard to effectiveness and productivity increase as compared to the additional product attained. Perfecting management, planning and economic accounting, as well as raising the self-responsibility of combines create favorable conditions for fully utilizing this effectiveness potential of computer-aided business administration and obtaining a greater product surplus as well as a higher contribution of every enterprise to the national income.

Footnotes

1. See E. Honecker, "Mit dem Volk und fuer das Volk realisieren wir die Generallinie unserer Partei zum Wohle der Menschen" [With the People, and for the People, We Realize Our Party's General Policy for the Welfare of Man], Dietz publishing company, East Berlin 1988, p 21.

2. See 5th meeting of the SED Central Committee, E. Honecker, "Alles zum Wohle des Volkes der DDR, fuer seine friedliche Zukunft" [Everything for the Welfare of the People of the GDR, for Its Peaceful Future], Dietz publishing company, East Berlin 1987, p 105.

3. See G. Mittag, "Gespraech ueber den 'Wettlauf mit der Zeit' und wie wir ihn gewinnen" [Conversation About the 'Race Against Time' and How We Win It], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Feb 88, p 3.

4. See E. Honecker, "Mit dem Volk...", op. cit., p 19.

9917

Semiconductor Plant To Increase Output, Work With Physics Institute

Party Activists' Goals

23000112 Frankfurt/Oder NEUER TAG in German
16 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Growing Demands Require a High Level of Political Action"]

[Text] In order to create a statement about their contribution to the path of the 11th SED Congress, party activists at the Frankfurt Semiconductor Plant yesterday arranged an activist meeting in order to evaluate the sixth meeting of the SED Central Committee and the report by their basic organization at the secretariat of the SED Central Committee. The constructive discussion, in which joint positions were worked out for politically aggressive work to further realize the decisions of the 11th party congress, was attended by a delegation from the secretariat of the SED bezirk leadership and its first secretary, Jochen Hertwig, as well as by the secretariat of the SED kreis leadership headed by Siegmund Hawlitzky, first secretary.

Jochen Hertwig emphasized that the achievements of the semiconductor workers, would, under the leadership of the enterprise party organization, make a decisive contribution to accelerate the pace of our national economy, particularly in the area of key technologies. In this context he declared that it was the party organization's duty to supply new impulses to the "Ideas-Solution-Patents" movement by means of the party elections and the democratic debate about the planned targets for 1989. This movement was created 10 years ago at the semiconductor plant.

In talking about the report at the secretariat of the SED Central Committee, Party Secretary Reinhard Selig pointed out that the communists, as well as the more than 8,000 semiconductor workers, are well on their way to fulfilling the decisions of the 11th party congress. The justifiably high social demands imposed on the enterprise collective will be successfully met, if it is possible to continue to reach a demanding level of internal party life, he declared. The 1988 obligation to produce an additional two million bipolar circuits is a solid foundation for the preparation of the party elections as a time of utmost activity, as well as for the discussion of plans for targets in the 40th year of the GDR. In general, the examples of the comrades serve, through quality work, in accordance with the zero defects movement, to win over more and more workers who will make their own contribution to peace, to the policies of the main task.

This relationship was also pointed out by the director of the enterprise, Joachim Handke, who gave out information about what had been achieved in the economic and social areas and explained that at present a complex program is being submitted to the collectives which, in parallel with the economic perspectives of the enterprise, contains social activities and will be put into effect by a decision by the plant representatives.

For increasingly more working people the noticeable union of economic and social policy in daily life turns out to be the driving force for new initiatives, worker Sylvia Wolff stated. Youth researcher Hagen Bargenda emphasized the contribution by FDJ members in the competition with time. The development leader, Edgar Bott, and Claus Tuchen, party secretary at the Institute for Semiconductor Physics, submitted proposals for a new quality for the "Ideas-Solutions-Patents" movement, for which additional reserves are to be opened up in the close cooperation between research and development of new technologies and products in the now 5-year-old academic industrial complex for microelectronics.

More Circuits, Patents

23000112 Frankfurt/Oder NEUER TAG in German
17 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Microelectronics Workers Produce Initiatives for Intensification"]

[Text] How can and must every comrade do his best within his field in order that the Frankfurt (Oder) Semiconductor Plant may continue to live up to its responsibility for universal realization of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress in the future? The answer to this question was the focal point of the discussion during the party activist meeting at the Frankfurt (Oder) Semiconductor Plant VEB in order further to evaluate the sixth meeting of the SED Central Committee. A delegation from the secretariat of the SED bezirk leadership participated, headed by its first secretary, Jochen Hertwig. (See also page 1 of yesterday's edition.)

The principal business was to determine the battle positions, following the report of the party leadership of the semiconductor factory to the secretariat of the SED Central Committee, for the 1,038 communists at the plant for their own contribution to the development of microelectronics. As Reinhard Selig, the secretary of the enterprise party organization, explained, the semiconductor workers are primarily interested in a further increase in the number and quality of bipolar components produced. "This is why we regard the obligation we have entered into, to increase the output in order to surpass the state plan quota by two million components, as a timely initiative for implementing the key technologies in our economy," Reinhard Selig said.

Increasing Challenge to Positions and Attitudes

To realize this obligation, it is primarily necessary to challenge the comrades' positions and attitudes even more and to use their comments and criticism even more effectively in order to open up reserves. As was shown, for instance in the contributions to the discussion by the director of the enterprise, Joachim Handke, and by the 28-year-old FDJ secretary in the final assembly area, Sylvia Wolff, this must principally involve doing more aggressive ideological work. It should be made clear to each of the more than 8,000 workers of the enterprise what his share is in realizing the decisions of the 11th party congress with his work.

More Circuits for High-Quality Consumer Goods

The semiconductor workers want to satisfy the demand for high-quality consumer goods with more circuits for color televisions, pocket calculators and radios, as well as machinery for modern computer and data transmission technology. But above all—and this is something the enterprise director stressed—the production of more microelectronic components must create the preconditions for continuing on the path of intensification of the national economy. That, in turn, is decisive for being able to meet popular demand in the future as well, and for expanding the positions of socialism in the struggle to secure peace, a thought which pervaded all the participants in the discussion. The workers of the semiconductor plant thereby reconfirm the statement in the commentary by the secretariat of SED Central Committee on the report by their basic organization, that they are prepared "under the action motto 'My Job—My Battle Station for Peace!' to render a great contribution to the assurance of peace and the reinforcement of socialism."

As Joachim Handke demonstrated, many of the enterprise workers' personal experiences attest to it that the chosen path of combining economic and social policy is the correct one. Thus, the fulfillment and overfulfillment of all tasks in the plan are progressing together with an improvement in working and living conditions. Among other things, housing conditions for 1,320 employees of the enterprise have improved since the 11th party congress.

Social Achievements Stimulate the Will To Produce

More than 4,450 women benefited from sociopolitical measures. In addition, every semiconductor worker is assured of having his children well placed and cared for in kindergarten and day care. And in the future as well there will be improvements from the social aspect. All of this serves as a motivation to become involved in continuing the policies of the main task and to attack the solution of the 1989 plan targets with a greater desire to achieve.

Just what demanding tasks are involved in the 40th year of the existence of the GDR, was outlined by, among others, development leader Edgar Bott and Hagen Bargenda, leader of the DIL-Sorter youth research collective in machine-building. Edgar Bott made it clear that after 10 years the use of the time-honored initiative "Ideas-Solutions-Patents" is more important than ever. Now, it is a matter of turning these initiatives into an effective work theme within the entire area of the academic industrial complex of microelectronics, in order thus to make circuit production even more efficient and to develop high-performance new components within a short time. For this, it is necessary to carry on with the "Ideas-Solutions-Patents" initiative in a totally new quality.

The scientists and employees of the Institute for Semiconductor Physics also embrace this task, declared its party secretary, Claus Tuchen. This is why the party leadership of the institute has decided to work out an "Ideas-Solutions-Patents" battle position of its own and at the same time arrange for even closer cooperation with the semiconductor plant.

Assure Our Approach to the Turn of the Millennium Even Today

Above all, it is important to accelerate the pace in the area of basic research, to outline the analytical and prognostic work. That is the key to dealing with the scientific and technological, economic and social demands until the turn of the millennium and beyond. The party organizations at the semiconductor plant must already be prepared for this in their political ideology work. The speed and quality of the research achievements depend on this to a decisive extent, Claus Tuchen emphasized.

[Box]

Worker Benefit Statistics

About 400 jobs are added or reorganized annually in the high-frequency oscillator area. Since the 11th party congress, housing conditions for 1,320 semiconductor workers and their families have improved. The availability of spaces at day care centers and kindergartens has been 100-percent assured. At the enterprise clinic, eight physicians and 23 nurses, as well as additional medical technicians, care for the health of the semiconductor

workers and the employees of another eight enterprises. In the cultural and social fund, nearly 6.5 million Marks were available to the workers; the amount grew to more than 10.5 million Marks in 1987. Of this, every third Mark was set aside last year to provide for the workers and trainees. Two kitchens, two cafeterias and 10 lunch rooms are available to serve the workers; far in excess of 1.3 million portions of food were cooked last year. The semiconductor workers can spend their vacations at three company vacation facilities; in 1987, 1,885 spaces were available at these facilities, as well as 1,560 by the FDGB vacation service. Sports are practiced in 18 sections of the enterprise sports association by 2,817 members.

11949

Housing Construction, Urban Renewal Statistics Reviewed

23000103 East Berlin UNION TEILT MIT in German
No 6/1988, Jun 88 (signed to press 6 May 88) p 4

[Text] "The housing construction program is and remains the central item of social policy. It expresses particularly clearly the truly humanistic nature of our society." (From the paper of the chairman, Gerald Goetting, at the 16th CDU Party Congress.)

—The housing construction program for the years 1971-90 provides that 3.3-3.5 million housing units be newly built, rehabilitated or modernized, thereby solving the housing question as a social problem.

—Between 1971 and 1987, 2,840,540 apartments were newly created, 1.8 million of them as new construction or reconstruction. This improved the housing conditions of 8.5 million citizens; it means that in this time period, half of all GDR citizens obtained a new or modernized apartment.

—While 600,666 apartments were created between 1971 and 1975 through new construction or modernization, their number increased to 813,127 during the subsequent 5-year planning period. Between 1981 and 1985, 988,880 apartments were newly built or modernized. For the present 5 years, the plan provides for 1,064,000 apartments to be newly built or modernized. With its fulfillment, since 1971 a total of 10.4 million citizens will have been provided with new or modernized housing.

—At present, the GDR registers an annual increase of 13 apartments per 1,000 inhabitants, 7 of them new construction. That puts it in third place after the Soviet Union and Japan. Every week, approximately 4,000 apartments are newly built or modernized here; in 1971, it was about 1,700.

—Two-thirds of all new housing construction go to workers' families. Every fourth new apartment is occupied by young married couples, every tenth by a large family.

—Between 1971 and 1987, 315 billion Marks were spent on housing construction and provision and organization of housing. These social achievements also make it possible to continue low rents unchanged.

—New housing construction is joined by new construction of social installations. For example, between 1971 and 1987, 51,000 classrooms were built; this is the equivalent of 2,100 two-track schools. At present, on the average two new school buildings, 410 kindergarten and 190 day-care centers, 70 youth clubs and 10 medical workplaces are completed per week.

—The focal point of the housing construction program is shifting ever more to inner-city construction. In 1987, every third new apartment was built in inner-city areas. By 1990, it is to be every second one.

—Modernization of old apartments holds equal importance as new construction. Its costs are about 40-50 percent lower than the cost of new construction. Compared to new construction, consumption of building materials is 30-40 percent lower. In addition, there are savings in transportation and labor costs. Compared to new construction, renewal requires 40 percent less steel and 80 percent less cement; transport costs drop by 85 percent, and total expenditures are about 30 percent less than costs for new construction.

—The present inventory of apartments in the GDR amounts to 6.9 million units—almost 1 million more than in 1971. On the average, there are 1,040 apartments per 1,000 households—114 more than in 1971—417 per 1,000 inhabitants; that is an increase of 62 apartments per 1,000 inhabitants since 1971. Last year, the average area of living space per inhabitant rose from 20.6 square meters to 26.7 square meters; the average apartment size during the same period increased from 58 square meters to 63.8 square meters.

—There has also been a considerable improvement in plumbing for the apartments. While in 1971 only 39 percent of all apartments had a bath or shower, last year it was 77 percent. In 1971, 39 percent of the apartments had indoor toilets; last year it was 70 percent. More than 1.5 million apartments were supplied with heat from a district heating system in 1987; in 1990, one out of four apartments in the GDR is to receive heat from a district heating system heating.

—This year's economic plan provides for the building or modernization of 211,462 apartments. The present tempo will be maintained with the construction of 110,000 new apartments. The number of housing units to be modernized increases to 101,462. Compared to 1987, modernization and building repair performance of apartment houses will rise by 6.5 percent.

—According to the economic plan, this year 21,462 places in kindergartens and 9,982 places in day-care centers will be created, as well as more than 100 schools

with 2,035 classrooms and 145 gymnasiums; 4,500 places in recreation and nursing homes, and 326 medical places for ambulatory care of citizens.

—In 1988, 30.5 billion Marks will be used for new construction, reconstruction and modernization of apartments, for provision and organization of housing and support for stable rents from the national budget as well as from self-financing by housing provision enterprises and cooperatives, homeowners and those building single-family homes. This amounts to 2.5 billion Marks more than in 1987.

—Over 90 percent of all new apartments and social installations are erected with industrial-type construction. In 1987, building time per apartment was 277 hours on the average of all production lines; in 1971 it took approximately 450 hours. By 1990, the construction industry is to lower specific consumption of rolled steel by 6.7 percent, cement by 5 percent, and cut timber by 4 percent compared to 1985.

—The focal point of new construction activity continues to be the capital. In 1975, it had still been in 20th place among GDR cities with regard to the number of apartments per 10,000 inhabitants. For example, at that time about 20 percent of the inhabitants in the Prenzlauer Berg sector lived in apartments without indoor toilets, 37 percent in rear buildings, lateral wings or traverse buildings; 75 percent of all apartments were one- or two-room units.

—Fifty-six percent of existing apartments are state-owned or cooperative property. The 315 state-owned enterprises for provision and organization of housing in the GDR, with approximately 60,000 employees, administer and maintain approximately 2.9 million apartments.

—The construction cooperatives for workers' apartments (AWG) contribute a share of 42-45 percent to annual new apartment constructions. Today, these over 800 AWGs have 1,050,000 apartments available—over 2 and 1/2 times more than in 1971. Approximately 1,120,000 citizens are AWG members and contribute about 130 million Marks annually in material and financial services to new apartment construction. Since the establishment of these cooperatives, their members and sponsor enterprises created a cooperative fund in the amount of 3.9 billion Marks.

—During the period of the previous 5-year plan, 14,866 privately owned homes and a total of 49,237 apartments were newly built or reconstructed in rural areas. The present 5-year plan provides for the construction of about 80,000 apartments in rural areas by 1990.

—While building materials valued at 1.07 billion Marks were made available to the population in 1980, this amount will increase to 2.7 billion Marks by 1990. Of

new housing construction 10-12 percent consists of privately owned homes. Since 1971, almost 182,000 privately owned homes were built, and for 1988 the plan provides for 11,513 privately owned homes.

—The construction industry managed by kreises has more than one-fourth of all construction capacities in the GDR. The construction industry—almost 1,100 artisan producer cooperatives with about 53,000 employees, and over 14,000 private enterprises with approximately 46,000 employees—produce annual construction services in the amount of about 1 billion Marks.

9917

HUNGARY

Nemeth, Horn View Disparate Interests Within CEMA

25000216 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
7 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn by Zsuzsa Gal: "One Must Fit Into the World Economy as a Whole; 44th Session of CEMA in Prague"]

[Text] Delegates generally fill recesses at international conferences with free conversation, coffee and relaxation. So it is here in Prague also where on the 2d day of the 44th session of CEMA the delegates socialized in the corridors and at the buffet. Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, did not give a sort of official interview to the correspondent of NEPSZABADSAG, but at the end of our conversation he agreed to the publication of the exchange—to which Gyula Horn, state secretary for foreign affairs, also contributed. We began by noting that the mood of the present conference was different, more modern than that of earlier ones. There were fewer categorical pronouncements; the little word "must" was voiced more rarely; and there were more critical and self-critical observations. Of course what really interested us is what socialist economic integration offers and can offer to us.

"In the beginning," Miklos Nemeth said in this connection, "we did not take economic efficiency into consideration, rather we wanted to moderate or end the quantitative shortages. Manufacturing specialization, for example, served this end. Hungary's participation in CEMA was given a special stamp by the fact that we did not have and do not have enough raw material and energy sources, and the Soviet Union provided them for us under favorable conditions. It is true that in the meantime we carried out investments worth many tens, even hundreds of billions, of forints which did not shift the structure of Hungarian production in a modern direction, for at the time these were based on a secure market."

"And many are of the opinion that from a certain viewpoint our obligations undertaken in the integration are conserving this structure," I observed.

"If this mechanism for cooperation becomes permanent, then, I say it will not be a stimulus but, on the contrary, a hindrance to the development of the Hungarian economy. We can already see clearly that the support and stabilizing effect which CEMA represented for the Hungarian economy 10-20 years ago are sometimes becoming the opposite. Conflicts of interest have appeared in the cooperation which can hardly be bridged over with the present system of tools."

"For example?"

"Hungary has an interest, for example, in being able to import a certain proportion of necessary raw materials and fuels from the Soviet Union and in being able to place on the Soviet market the products of its processing industry, especially the machine industry, produced under the old structure. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has an interest in reducing the delivery of raw materials and fuels and modifying our export structure to reduce its machine industry products, replacing them with foodstuffs industry and light industry articles and goods representing peak technology or close to it. But Hungarian industry is not prepared for the latter, to do so we must modernize the structure of industry, and to do this we need money. In addition, they are getting our foodstuffs industry articles at prices which do not bring or barely us satisfactory income. This is a pincer from which we can escape only with a price system reflecting world market prices."

"I think that CEMA can approximate world market prices only if the internal price systems of its member countries develop in this way too. Socialist integration can become more like a market only if the member countries also approximate market economies."

"My opinion," Miklos Nemeth said, "is that overall opinion in CEMA is very different. I cannot say that the internal mechanisms are approaching one another unambiguously. One can observe a sort of radical affirmation of reform or commitment to reform in words, but the implementing methods are quite divergent. One can also observe in the conference hall that we all do not mean the same thing by the words of reform—price, convertibility, bank, market."

Gyula Horn approached us with coffee and a cigarette in his hand. So I turned to him with my question.

"In the final analysis, is Hungary's link to CEMA a political commitment, an economic interest, or both?"

"The Hungarian delegation states openly now and affirmed earlier that strengthening the integration makes sense for us if we modernize the means for doing so," the state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs opined.

"I see development in this, at least in the formulations and the publicly stated intentions. The need to change the internal mechanism has been accepted in most member countries. If this happens then our participation in the integration will be accompanied by economic results. But—and I emphasize this—the integration cannot restrict us from developing our contacts with other parts of the world. There once were voices—they have disappeared today—according to which we must build bridges exclusively among ourselves."

"I also consider this extraordinarily important," noted Miklos Nemeth. "There has been an essential change in this area, indicated also by the agreement signed with the EEC. But if price reform is delayed or not undertaken and if hierarchical, subjective decisions remain dominant in some member countries, then we will not be able to say if some joint development will produce income. And then the supports and withdrawals will remain too. And if these remain, then a radical reform of CEMA will not take place and CEMA will not be able to fit into the world economy as a whole, into the division of labor of the world economy. And it is true not only of individual member countries but of CEMA as a whole that economic cooperation must be extended outside our own circles."

"What if it isn't?"

"If this does not happen then the gap between us and the more developed countries, the more developed economic integrations, will deepen further," Miklos Nemeth opined. And he gave a practical example. "For years the EEC member countries have been preparing for 1992 with extraordinary diligence, preparing to dismantle the still existing national limitations within the Common Market. Among other things they have worked out common standards, not only for machine industry products but also for communications engineering and even agricultural products. This is an apparently banal matter. But if CEMA's standards are not compatible with the EEC's then we cannot move in the direction of coming together, of cooperation, rather we will be forced in the direction of moving farther apart, of breaking away. So, in my opinion CEMA must remember the requirements of the international division of labor in every question."

"Economic interest might receive greater emphasis in this," Gyula Horn said. "Someone here put it this way, we already see the obsolescence of the cooperation mechanism but we do not yet know what sort of mechanism to put in its place. I say that it is not absolutely important for every member country to join in the reform efforts; we do not have to insist that everyone participate in every sort of cooperation. On some subjects, we could develop the cooperation of two, three or four countries expressly for the sake of efficiency. At this time of transition, this could be the way for us to go."

"There is one camp which wants to strengthen the reform efforts and another which I might call the camp of those who believe in correcting the existing system," Miklos Nemeth said, "where they want to do everything a little better."

"Let me note here," Gyula Horn interrupted, "that the talk of 'perfecting' what exists always reappears in CEMA usage. In my opinion, one cannot perfect something which is bad. So we should forget this word and talk about radical change."

"Let me ask again, Do we have a political commitment in the economic integration, or must we follow only our economic interests? What is your opinion?"

"We have a political commitment in the sense that the socialist community, of which we are members as a socialist country, is primary for us," said Gyula Horn. "So it is primarily in this sphere that we must seek our prosperity, but at the same time this cannot limit us in building contacts with the nonsocialist world."

"We must seek in this sphere also," Miklos Nemeth said, emphasizing the little word "also." "Today the very hard, one might say rigid, economic interests are crucial; and in the future they will be even more so. Nevertheless, these also have political content."

"And are these interests appearing in their rigidity at the conference now taking place?" I asked.

"Indeed," Miklos Nemeth said. "Critical analyses are dominating, instead of the earlier 'everyone agrees with everyone.' But this is not enough. Concrete proposals are needed, and if everyone cannot agree with them then, as I said, a few countries should try to blaze a trail and provide an example. But here I must talk about something else. In the European Economic Community there is no one country with outstanding economic potential like the Soviet Union in CEMA. So in our integration the Soviet Union has a determining role, and without the progress of the Soviet reform one cannot imagine a radical reform in CEMA."

"It is not necessary to maintain the appearance of monolithic unity," Gyula Horn interjected, "because this would only weaken cooperation."

"That is true," Miklos Nemeth continued his thought. "As we internationalized our ideological system we did not internationalize the economy."

"What do you mean by that?"

"For example," Gyula Horn said, "there were economic decisions with political motives in our cooperation which ignored internal economic conditions. And citing

the primacy of politics and in the interest of demonstrating unity, we entered into agreements which had no economic foundation. An efficiency study did not precede the decisions."

"And can one observe more rationality in this area already?"

"At today's session itself we could hear a recognition according to which we should decide certain economic questions not from a political perspective, or on the basis of some abstract theory, but we should agree based on rational economic thinking," says Miklos Nemeth. "Three or four delegates made similar statements. For example, on the question of aid to countries they said that we [CEMA] should separate it from our economic cooperation. The Hungarian delegation has said this for several years; help should not suppress economic considerations. In the final analysis, this is in the interest of those needing aid also, for simple aid will not push the aided country toward economic change."

Returning to our relationships, Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn also agreed that we should not encourage illusions even if we can develop more modern cooperation with a few countries. Because, as they said, negative impulses will continue to affect the Hungarian economy for a few years even if an intensive reform process starts in several socialist countries, including ours. They also agreed that we must rethink our entire international cooperation policy so we will have a response and initiatives to the challenges from the rest of the world. If we do not, then international conditions for our resurgence program will fall apart.

We had reached this point when the afternoon recess ended on the second day of the CEMA session. The members of the Hungarian delegation—Jozsef Marjai, Janos Hoos, Gyula Horn, Miklos Nemeth and Pal Tetenyi—accompanied by their advisers returned to the hall where the conference continued by debating the long-range plan for technical-scientific cooperation.

8984

POLAND

Electrical Assembly Enterprise Expands Soviet, Austrian Contracts
26000325c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
6 Apr 88 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Every Other Zloty From Exports: Elektromontaz on Soviet Construction Sites"]

[Text] (From our own correspondent)—The white triangle with the blue lettering "Elmont," is a well-known symbol on Soviet construction sites. One encounters it on equipment and clothing of high-quality specialists.

Elmont is the trademark of Elektromontaz-Export Construction Export Enterprise, which represents the Elektromontaz organization in foreign contracts.

The triangle with the lettering "Elmont" appears in Soviet sulfuric acid, millboard, and calcium-silicate brick factories, in chemical plants, in agricultural drying houses, and in nuclear power plants, along the Yamburg pipeline, in automobile tire cord factories....This year, it will also appear at the construction site of the rolling mill in Magnitogorsk.

"The Elektromontaz organization consists of 15 enterprises, 9 sections of Electropunkt, the Research and Development Center, and our enterprise," Romuald Wiercinski, the deputy director of Elektromontaz-Export told a journalist for RZECZPOSPOLITA. Our task is to sell finished equipment, with assembly, and start-up, electrical construction services, and assign Polish specialists to work in other foreign enterprises. We have located 45 percent of our export tasks in the Soviet Union which consists of 327 different contracts. That market is important for us and has a good future. Already nearly every other zloty earned from exports comes from that market."

"Since 1964 we have sold the Soviet Union transformer stations produced in Elektromontaz plants in Lublin, Wroclaw, and Gdansk," adds Henryk Kowalik, also a deputy director. "Each year we sell 1,200 such stations, obviously we are constantly modernizing and bringing them up to world standards. We also sell low-voltage switching stations, control equipment, consoles, network accessories, equipment to control production processes, measuring and control equipment. This year we are also offering our Soviet partners 'Uniblocks,' low-voltage equipment and switches for housing and rural construction. Producers like the three Elektromontaz plants in Katowice and also in Bydgoszcz, Lodz, Krakow, or Poznan have a good reputation with our Eastern neighbor."

"The best business is to sell equipment and assemble it yourself. Since, however, that is not always possible, Elektromontaz-Export also hunts for unconventional methods of gaining new partners. Recently, we have employed Polish workers with Western firms doing construction in the USSR. Thus, jointly with the Austrian firm EGB of Linz we worked on a cord factory in Zhlobin. Similarly, we have worked with Italian and English firms. These firms pay hard currency for Poles' participation in their undertakings."

13021

Brest-Litovsk Trade Fair Promotes Polish, Soviet Goods
26000325a Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
7 Apr 88 pp 1, 7

[Article by Zbigniew Wyczesany: "Exchange of Ideas, People, and Goods: Cooperation Along the Border, Biala Podlaska Brest-Litovsk"]

[Excerpts] From the bridge on Klukowka at the Biala Podlaska gate to the Brest-Litovsk fortress, it is exactly 42,195 meters. And along this route each year on 9 May the Victory Marathon is held, once beginning in Brest-Litovsk, once in Biala Podlaska; the sports event is very popular on both sides of the border.

The Victory Marathon will begin this year in front of the Brest-Litovsk fortress. At the middle of the bridge across the Bug, the border guards take an identification card from each runner, but only from 200, for it was agreed to issue only this number of cards. These border "technical difficulties" force limiting the number of participants to 100 athletes from each country.

"Cooperation along the border with the Brest-Litovsk Obvod has many years of tradition behind it," says Marian Konopko, deputy head of the Political and Organizational Section of the Biala Podlaska PZPR Voivodship Committee. Last year these contacts were more lively, they were less official, the number of visiting groups from industrial plants, agriculture, educational institutions and health services, union and youth organizations, cultural facilities, etc., multiplied in both directions. Last year nearly 1,300 people participated in exchanges, and only a portion of the trips were purely for tourism.

"At present we are preparing the protocol on cooperation for the next two years with the Brest-Litovsk Obvod for signing," Marian Konopko continues. "The signing will be held in Lublin for the Brest-Litovsk Obvod also cooperates with that voivodship. Our contacts with the authorities of the Brest-Litovsk Obvod are lively and frequent. In Biala Podlaska, Anatol Zielonowski, the first secretary of the CPSU Brest-Litovsk Obvod Committee, is well-known as is Viktor Burski, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Obvod Workers' Council of Delegates. In Brest-Litovsk, Jozef Oleksy, first secretary of the PZPR Biala Podlaska Voivodship Committee, Wieslaw Obszanski, chairman of the people's council, and Stanislaw Rapa, voivod, are well known.

"The plants that cooperate with each other prefer to exchange specialists, technicians, or agricultural production organizers, but they do not resist exchanging groups of workers for tourism. There are close ties between the workers of the Directorate of the Transfer Regions in Malaszewice and the Brest-Litovsk Section of the Soviet Railways, the Biawena Wool Industry Plant of the Wool Plant in Baranowice, the Polam Lighting Industry Plant with the Brest-Litovsk Lightbulb Factory. Two Polish

state farms cooperate with two Soviet state farms, the high school in Radzyn Podlaski, with the secondary school in Czarnowczyce, and the section of the non-resident Physical Education Academy, with the Pedagogical Institute in Brest-Litovsk, etc.

"The plan for 1988 calls for broadening the list of cooperating plants, schools, and institutions. It calls for enriching the forms by, among other things, exchanging employees directly between similar positions, exchanging sports and recreation groups, allowing representatives of the workforces to take individual vacations, competition between plants, sections, and brigades.

"Among the various forms of cooperation along the border, cooperation between the cities occupies an important place. Biala Podlaska has signed an agreement with Brest-Litovsk, Radzyn Podlaski with Kobryns, Miedzyrzec with Pruzhane. Everything points to Parczev of the Biala Podlaska Voivodship and Gancewicze in the Brest-Litovsk Obvod will sister cities."

Mikolaj Szolucha, director of the trade section of the Voivodship Office met recently with a couple of retailers in Brest-Litovsk and Minsk. They looked for ways to broaden current contacts through exchange along the border.

The exchange of goods along the border existed earlier, but it had to be carried out through particular foreign trade enterprises. In the case of Biala Podlaska, these were Torimex and Polcoop. Today such intermediaries still appear, but there are ways to cooperate directly between domestic retail trade enterprises on both sides of the border on the basis of individual permits (a kind of concession to conduct non-convertible-currency trade of goods). And several retail organizations are taking advantage of these opportunities.

The Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise in Biala Podlaska signed the first contract in July 1987 with the Obvod Trade Section in Brest-Litovsk. A little earlier the range of goods for this exchange was presented during the first border trade fair "Jarmark Druzhba" in Bialystok.

During the five months of 1987, the Voivodship Domestic Trade Enterprise received goods worth 262 million zloty from the Brest-Litovsk Obvod (among others, cotton, wool, and silk cloth, canned fish, and canned meat and vegetables, grape wine, small household appliances, musical instruments, including pianos, bedding, photographic equipment, and radios and televisions). Polish goods of similar value were shipped across the Bug (knitted goods, handcrafted goods, clothing, shoes, fruit, and vegetables).

The plans for 1988 are much broader.

According to the agreement between the governments of Poland and the USSR of October 1986 (on the development of bilateral trade of goods or general use between the domestic trade enterprises of both countries) interested organizations can freely establish the range and size of shipments. In the rules for this cooperation it says that the turnover of each of the sides cannot be less than 200,000 rubles annually. We are dealing not with symbolic quantities but with an exchange of goods on a significant scale in the border areas.

The issues associated with non-convertible-currency trade of goods have, however, not been completely resolved in the right manner. Our treasury applies a high turnover tax to some of the imported goods (for example, shampoos and grape wines) which leads to the elimination of these goods from the list of imports. "An average tax on the whole list of goods exchanged through border trade like the one used in border trade with the GDR would settle things for us," says Director M. Szolucha. "A double turnover tax also occurs on some of the exported goods, but these goods are exchanged for goods that have already been taxed once."

These, however, are not the most important problems. Several others are also waiting for legal resolutions (a customs agreement regulating issues associated with the agreement), organizational issues (spare parts for technical equipment and repair service), standardization....

But of primary importance is that what had until recently been unimaginable along this border has become possible.

13021

**More Direct Enterprise Contacts Follow
Brest-Litovsk Fair**
26000325b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
5 Apr 88 pp 1, 3

[Report by Anna Sielanko: "A Soviet Product Line Worth 200 Million Rubles: Border Trade Fair in Brest-Litovsk"]

[Text] For four days (5-8 April) the House of Culture in Brest-Litovsk became a large fair hall. Retailers from eight republics in the Soviet Union exhibited for their Polish partners goods which they are ready to exchange for other products. Around 3,000 samples of various articles, chiefly industrial ones, of a total value exceeding 200 million rubles were on display.

A year ago, the first Border Trade Fair was held in Bialystok where the Polish side exhibited its product line. Thus, the practical implementation of the agreement signed in 1986 by the premiers of the governments of Poland and the USSR on direct exchange of market goods between retail enterprises and organizations has begun. Initially, it was limited to transactions between partners from the border voivodships but firms from other areas are gradually joining. The total value of the exchange was 60 million rubles last year. This year, K.Z. Terech (the Soviet minister of trade), who was at the fair in Brest-Litovsk, said the retailers of the Soviet Union expect to sell goods valued at about 150 million rubles at the fair.

The Soviet product line is interesting; many goods (in various branches) were exhibited that are much sought after in Poland and that either domestic industry does not produce or supplies them in insufficient quantities. The fair in Brest-Litovsk provided opportunities to make new direct contacts between retailers. For example, the Centrum department stores in Lublin, as we learned from its director Stanislaw Staniszewski, have reached an agreement with the retailers from Georgia. The Warsaw Spolem has signed a large contract with Azerbaijan.

The largest exhibitor at the fair is the Russian Federation. It prepared products valued at around 100 million rubles, for example, small household appliances, well-received by our retailers and obviously by their customers, such as vacuum cleaners, mills, blenders, electric immersion heaters, pressure cookers, eating utensils, kitchen knives, camping equipment. The hosts, the retailers from Byelorussia, exhibited sporting goods, clocks, transistor radios, and gardening equipment. There were a lot of pots, toys, hand tools, and door locks, while among food articles, most of the goods on exhibit were canned fish, shampoos, and sweets.

We will soon see in the stores what the Polish retailers selected from among all these items. To a large degree, that will depend on how the Polish product line pleases the Soviet retailers. Our firms have mostly handcrafted items, Polonia products, and vegetables, fruits, flowers, and preserves.

The fair was opened by J. Jozwiak, minister of domestic trade, and K. Terech, Soviet minister of retail trade.

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